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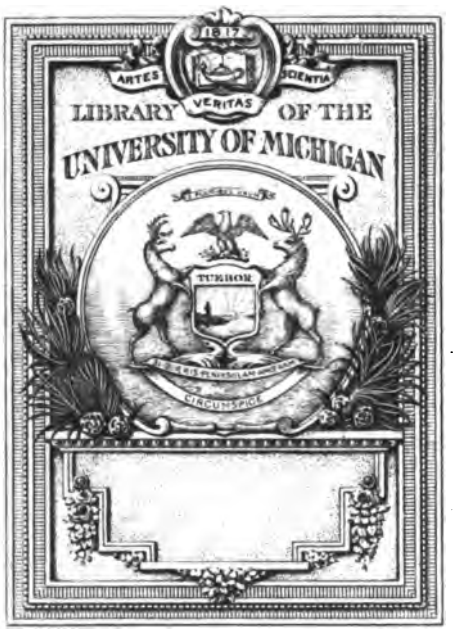
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1557—1558.

WITH AN APPENDIX.

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VENETIAN AND OTHER PAPERS.

A.D. 1557—(*continued*).

1557.
Nov. 4.
Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

1073. MICHIEL SURIAN, Venetian Ambassador with King Philip, to the DOGE and SENATE.

This day a Spanish gentleman consigned to me a letter from your Serenity, written on the 29th August, with two commissions, one, that I was to congratulate the King on the victory under St. Quentin; the other, that I was again to urge him to make peace with the Pope. The perusal of this letter caused me very great regret, because your Serenity's order, which at the time was of importance, and so greatly desired and expected by me, might in the ordinary course have arrived in 10 or 12 days at the farthest.

In my letter of 20th Sept. [not found], *I wrote about the warning given of my being suspected of not relishing the King's successes, on the authority of advices from Venice. I now hear that the report originated at this Court, where, everything being pondered, it was remarked that I had performed no office about this victory, either with the King or with others. Knowing that in such cases you give notice of your wish to your ambassadors, and not receiving any advice, I remained in suspense; but this suspicion ceased on the King's return, when I obeyed your orders, his Majesty having also been fully convinced of your mind by the letters of the Ambassador Vargas.*

Brussels, 4th November 1557.

[*Italian, partly in cipher; the portion in italics deciphered by Signor Luigi Pasini.*]

Nov. 4.
Original Letter Book, Venetian Archives.

1074. GIACOMO SORANZO, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

Yesterday the Duke de Guise departed for Compiegne, accompanied by Marshal Strozzi, Don Francesco da Este, M. de Termes, and the greater part of the Court, and although according to public report his Excellency goes principally to disband (cassare) *some companies of infantry, and to place the rest of the troops in their winter quarters, it is understood that he contemplates some expedition; but the project is kept secret, both to avoid giving notice to the enemy, as also because in the event of failure their dignity*

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would suffer from having allowed the design to transpire. It is said that his Excellency may attempt the recovery of Han, and some other place, but it seems easier for him to dislodge the enemy from Chauni, and to put a very strong garrison in the place, and to commence fortifying it, which is known to be of more and more importance daily. The 200 *battle-axe gentlemen* (gentilhomeni della aza) *have been ordered to assemble at Compiegne. The King's war-horses* (cavalli grossi) *are gone to Senlis, and according to report, should means be found to realise the "design," his Majesty in person will join the army.* M. de Guise will disband all the useless troops in the army, and reduce many of the ensigns, to save the King cost, reinforcing the best companies with the good troops, so that it is intended to put all the serviceable soldiery into winter quarters.

M. d'Aumale has arrived at the Court, and reports that the German troops at Bourg-en-Bresse have retreated to the mountains, the greater part having disbanded, but the King's forces remain, nor will they stir until suspicion there has ceased entirely, when his Majesty will send the greater part of them into Piedmont; and he has already despatched an engineer to Bourg-en-Bresse for the better fortification of that place. Owing to the stir [created by the passage of the Germans] the Bernese armed some of their people, remaining in their own territory, *and told the French ambassador resident with them that they are ready to undertake the expedition against the Franche Comté, if his King will join his forces with theirs as written by me; but his Majesty seems disinclined to do so, not wishing to employ his troops in so many quarters.*

I wrote heretofore about the Constable's negotiation, and subsequently I elicited something about what the proposal was, viz., that the King of England would restore these places taken in Picardy, provided the King of France would cede a certain large part of Piedmont to the Duke of Savoy, to which his most Christian Majesty would by no means consent.

Don Francesco da Este will go as Governor of Montalcino, and of the other places in the Siennese, his stipend being fixed at 8,000 crowns, and he is evidently put very forward by these Lords of the House of Guise. The revenues of Cardinal Farnese's benefices in France, yielding 36,000 francs annually, have been confiscated; his abbacy with a revenue of 14,000 francs has been given to the Cardinal of Sens, and the rest will be bestowed on the Cardinal of Ferrara, in recompense for the archbishopric of Milan and other benefices retained by the King of Spain. The Cardinal of Armagnac has arrived at the Court, the King honouring and caressing him greatly.

Poissy, 4th November 1557.

[*Italian, partly in cipher; the portions in italics deciphered by Signor Luigi Pasini.*]

Nov. 5. Original Letter Book, Venetian Archives.

1075. BERNARDO NAVAGERO, Venetian Ambassador at Rome, to the CHIEFS of the COUNCIL OF TEN.

When the serious indisposition of Cardinal Durante was known here, as also the commission given me by the Senate, to obtain from

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the Pope the confirmation of the *accesso*, in the person of the reverend Priuli, inquiries were made of me almost daily whether I knew how Cardinal Durante was, it being also told me that to attempt the confirmation of the *accesso* was almost impossible; Cardinal Cornaro saying to me, "I wish our reverend Priuli all prosperity, but in case of Durante's death we shall not obtain what we desire; for a great cardinal, whose name I do not tell you, has also told me that the Pope wishes to oblige the Signory, but on that individual, by reason of the bad opinion he has of him (Priuli) on account of religion, he will never do so (*non lo farà mai*);" and that the case of the Cardinals Pole and Morone was connected with this one of Priuli, and perhaps with that of Bishop Soranzo, whom they wish to get into their hands, as he might say something against the above written personages.*

The Archbishop of Corfu told me afterwards that the Cardinal Alessandrino,† with whom the Pope talks about these affairs of the Inquisition, and discusses them more than with anyone else, said to him, "Were Durante to die, the Pope would never give Priuli the Bishopric of Brescia, but so great is his desire to please the Signory that means might be found to make them remain satisfied." He also said that the coadjutorship given to the nephew might easily be revoked, as it was conceded hurriedly in the act of dismissing consistory, and because the youth is not of the age required, and because he was subsequently heard to be illiterate; and though they told the Pope he was an LL.D., the degree had been conferred on him in private by Fantuccio; but still more important was the fact of your Serenity's not placing trust in him, in a city and fortress of such great consequence as Brescia is, and that it would be necessary to explain the reasons why confidence is required (*che bisogneria far conoscer le cause della confidentia*).

Rome, 5th November 1557.

[*Italian.*]

Nov. 6. Original Letter Book, Venetian Archives.

1076. BERNARDO NAVAGERO, Venetian Ambassador at Rome, to the DOGE and SENATE.

Don Garcilasso de la Vega, returning from Naples, passed through Rome on his way to King Philip, and remained a day in the house of Cardinal Pacheco; he wrote a note to the Pope announcing his departure for the next morning, and that as he should be with the King before Cardinal Caraffa, he wished to know whether his Holiness had any commands for him. Neither the Pope, nor the Duke of Paliano, nor any one else, sent him one word of reply, so, besides his long imprisonment, this additional mark of disesteem causes him to depart very ill satisfied.

It is understood that the Pope and his kinsfolk are rather angry because they have received neither letter nor advice from King

* Vettor Soranzo was deprived of the see of Bergamo by Paul IV., in full consistory, but the Pope did not get possession of his person, for he died in Venice, nor was anything elicited from him against Pole, Morone, and Priuli.

† Michele Ghislieri, a native of Alessandria, supreme inquisitor, and who was elected Pope with the title of Pius V. on the 7th January 1566. (*See* Cardella, vol. 4, p. 361.)

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Philip since the arrival at his Court on the 19th ultimo of the Bishop dell' Aquila. The Imperialists here attribute this delay to the Bishop's having found the King occupied with the distribution of his army, and with his move towards Brussels.

The Duke of Paliano is still in fear of not getting back his son, not having yet received any letters from France on the subject.

Since some days, the market-places here have been without bread, and what little was brought in the morning may be said to have been fought for; and there is in like manner a scarcity of fuel, grain, and other necessaries, the results of the inundation of the Tiber being now much more felt. Benevento has been reappointed commissary general, accepting the post after much entreaty, and has already issued a proclamation desiring everybody to give a note of all the grain they possess, within one day, under very heavy penalties, and it is said that he will thus obtain a supply, which, if distributed judiciously, will last until the provisions arrive from the March of Ancona and elsewhere.

An ambassador from the most serene King of Poland [Sigismund II., Augustus] arrived lately at Rome, but has not yet had audience of the Pope, and the cause of his coming is unknown. As it is believed to concern religion, the Cardinals complain that every Thursday his Holiness assembles the congregation of the Inquisition for the prosecution of an individual heretic, *and then shows himself regardless of losing whole kingdoms such as Poland, leaving it without a nuncio; and doing the like with regard to what little (religion?) remains in Germany, by not sending any one to the King of the Romans, and not even answering his Majesty's letters.* The Cardinals also disapprove of the innovation about the letter posts, the Papal government (*questi signori*) having answered the French and the Imperialists that it is his Holiness' intention to have no other post office in Rome than his own, which will despatch all the couriers who depart hence, and all those who arrive with the letters are to go thither, consigning those of private individuals to the Pope's postmaster, and carrying those of crowned heads (*quelle de' Principi*) to their ambassadors. Yesterday they did thus by the "*Procaccio*" from Naples, when the Duke of Alva's resident, Signor Ascanio Caracciolo, complained of this as a violation of one of the articles of the peace stipulating that their offices and effects were to be restored to those who had been deprived of them on account of the war, amongst whom one is his postmaster, Giovanni Antonio de Tassis. They answered him that he must have patience, as such is the Pope's will, and he was heard to say that he thinks the said "*Procaccio*" will no longer be allowed to come, and that the one from Flanders will perhaps be stopped in like manner. The French say that their King will also stop the ordinary post from Lyons and not allow him to come, as the letters are to go into the hands of others than his own postmasters. In accordance herewith, I am told that they choose the letters brought for private individuals by your Serenity's couriers to be received in the house of the Pope's postmaster, and they moreover intend to deprive our postmaster of the post office of "*Primaporta*," Matteo, who is now the Pope's postmaster, circulating a report

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throughout the bankers' quarter (*per Banchi*) that he will send letters for half the price charged by the Venetian couriers. Two causes are assigned for this change of post office regulations, which is considered of great importance and must reasonably displease all foreign powers, and may ruin trade in many quarters; the one, through this lucre, to provide for some of the Pope's dependents; the other and more momentous one being, to make sure of all letters passing through their hands, *so as to enable them according to circumstances, they being hugely suspicious of everybody, to verify their doubts* (volersene chiarire), *it being said that they are highly skilled in opening and closing packets* (perchè si dice che in aprire e serrar mazzi sono molto pratichi).

Rome, 6th November 1557.

[*Italian.*]

Nov. 7. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

1077. MICHIEL SURIAN, Venetian Ambassador with King Philip, to the DOGE and SENATE.

After my letter of the 31st ultimo the Duke de Guise was heard to be on the confines of Burgundy with an army of upwards of 10,000 *men, including horse and foot, the greater part of the infantry being Switzers. It is also said that Polviler,* who was with King Philip's troops on those frontiers, has retired, not having a sufficient force to resist the French, and that after giving the last rate of pay to his soldiers, part of them returned to their homes and part went into France and joined the French army; but the hope they have here that the French will not advance rests entirely on the Switzers, who by ancient treaties with the House of Burgundy are bound not only not to attack that province, but also to defend it; it being said that those Switzers with M. de Guise have already protested to him that if he meditates an attack on Burgundy they do not intend to engage themselves.*

The fortification of Han is being continued, nor is it in any way impeded by the French, who are intent on nothing but plundering those who pass to and fro between these frontiers. I am assured on good authority that peace with the most Christian King is talked of, and the Count de Feria lately gave it to be understood to some persons that King Philip will not show himself averse to the peace, the apparent cause being that his Majesty has great need to go to Spain to adjust the disorders of those realms, which are very great, and increase continually. Hitherto, however, this side has not commenced any negotiation for peace, there being merely letters from M. de Vaudemont to the Duchess of Lorraine promising that King Henry will not be averse to fair terms. The Duchess always gave them to King Philip to read, the last having been received a few days ago; but from what I am told his Majesty would not speak openly to the Duchess, perhaps that the matter may be treated more to his repute. Those who know his Majesty's respects consider it certain that through the Cardinals Caraffa and Trivulzi the whole of this affair will be treated and concluded, although Caraffa is

* Baron Nicolas de Polvilliers, a subject of the Duke of Savoy. (*See* Père Daniel, vol. 9, p. 844.)

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much suspected by reason of the past events; and, to speak freely, he is considered very frivolous and fickle (molto vano et leggiero), *both on account of several things said of him, as also from what he wrote in a letter to the most serene King, talking about his inclination towards this side. He wrote amongst other things that he has always been well affected towards his Majesty and faithful to him* (affettionato et fedele a sua Maestà), *and that the King himself can bear the best witness to his good faith and affection* (della fede et affettione sua), *which thing has been a topic amongst all these grandees, the adulation seeming too manifest. Nevertheless the wish had here for peace, or some other cause, be it what it may, induces a belief that through the medium of this Cardinal it will be effected.*

The States were convoked, and it was proposed to them, in the King's name, to free the entire revenue, which the Emperor mortgaged down to the year 1561, the sum being very considerable. The States have not yet replied, and seem alarmed, the demand being so considerable that they say the thing is impossible; but the King insists, arguing that the war being waged here to keep the enemy at a distance, it is fair for them to pay the cost, and not to lay the burden on Spain, nor on his other realms, which derive no advantage from it. This will be long debated, nor is anything more said about regulating the prices of provisions, which are most exorbitant, the Court being crowded with personages from Germany and Italy, who, invited by the King's good fortune, come to serve him and obtain his favour.

Don Ferrante Gonzaga still continues indisposed; some of the physicians consider his malady mortal, whilst others pronounce it to be a tedious one and difficult to cure, but all of them declare it to be very dangerous, most especially in this damp and intemperate climate, so injurious to everybody, whether weak or strong, sound or unsound.

Brussels, 7th November 1557.

[*Italian, partly in cipher; the portions in italics deciphered by Signor Luigi Pasini.*]

Nov. 8. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

1078. GIOVANNI MICHIEL, Ambassador elect in France,* to the DOGE and SENATE.

I arrived here to-day, and considering the passage of the Alps, the shortness of the days at this season, the very bad weather with water above and below, and the ice and snow, my journey has been expeditious. At Turin I found the Marshal de Brissac intent on defending himself against the Imperialists, though his ranks are thinner than they ought to be, the greater part of the soldiery having disbanded because their captains, being creditors for some ten months' pay, have not wherewithal to pay them, nor will the Marshal allow them to live at discretion on the territory like the Imperialists, but since the last orders from France the companies

* Giovanni Michiel's last despatch from London, dated 26th January 1557, has been printed in this volume; on the following 29th May he made his "Report" of England to the Senate, and later in the year he was appointed ambassador to Henry II., thus replacing Soranzo, who had preceded him, in like manner, at the Court of Queen Mary.

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were being reinforced, and on the return thence of the horse and foot, he hoped to defend himself briskly against the enemy.

Of the disturbances caused within 10 leagues of this city by the events at Bourg-en-Bresse, I need only say that the people here have recovered from their panic, which was very great, as had affairs there gone amiss, Lyons was then so ill supplied with ammunition, artillery, and troops, that the townspeople and merchants sent away their most valuable effects; whereas now everything is pacific, and has returned to its former state. Advices dated the 1st instant announce that the enemy's forces were within four leagues of Besançon, in the Franche Comté, which is held by the Catholic King, they having halted there to defend the province against the Switzers, who threatened to attack it under pretence of its having conceded passage to the detriment of France, and broken its treaty with France and with the said Switzers. Others say that with this opportunity they seek to take the town of Salins,* which would be very convenient for them, on account of the salt works which supply the whole of that province and all the cantons; but although Berne, the most powerful of them, is said to be in arms, neither that one nor the others will stir without the consent and participation of the King of France.

Your Serenity will also have heard that the royal agents (*ministri*) here have suspended the interest of 16 per cent. due from the King to his creditors at the last two fairs, amounting to upwards of 200,000 golden crowns, requesting the merchants of various nations to accommodate him in his present need, offering recompense for the said interest; so although it displeased them, they agreed to make a fresh deposit of the aforesaid sum, receiving the same interest of 16 per cent. as a gift (*di dono*), and four for the capital, as on the other deposits, but with an especial assignment, so that he thus pays compound interest, for which reason these credits have fallen from 104 to 85.

Lyons, 8th November 1557.

[*Italian.*]

Nov. 9. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

1079. GIACOMO SORANZO, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

At next Christmas it has been determined to make the espousals (*di fare il sponsalitio*) of the Dauphin with the Queen of Scotland, but for the present the marriage will not be consummated, the Dauphin not having completed his 14th year, and because he is still of a very weak constitution (*et per anchora ritrovandosi in assai debole qualità di persona*).

The causes for hastening this marriage are apparently two; the first, to enable them more surely to avail themselves of the forces of Scotland against the kingdom of England for next year, and the other for the gratification of the Duke and Cardinal of Guise, the said Queen's uncles, who by the hastening this marriage chose to secure themselves against any other matrimonial alliance which might be proposed to his most Christian Majesty in some negotiation for

* Salins in the Jura, four leagues N. of Poligny. (*See* Malte-Brun.)

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peace, the entire establishment of their greatness having to depend on this; for which reason the Constable by all means in his power continually sought to prevent it.

When Don Francesco departed for Compiegne, the King made him a knight of the Order of St. Michael, with many marks of honour.

Poissy, 9th November 1557.

[*Italian, partly in cipher; the portions in italics deciphered by Signor Luigi Pasini.*]

Nov. 13. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

1080. MICHIEL SURIAN, Venetian Ambassador with King Philip, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The disturbances in Spain render the King's presence there more necessary than ever, and another important reason for his thinking of peace is, the want of money with which to wage war, for besides having received but 400,000 *crowns, or perhaps less, from the Indies, he does not expect a farther supply for some time; neither can he hope for anything, or but very little, from the merchants, as they all murmur at the resolve made in Spain, to limit the assignments given them heretofore. The dissatisfaction of the Genoese is such that their ambassador here speaks against the King so loudly that he has several times called him "Nero," and "Tyrant," and he said that Genoa will evince such resentment at this, that his Majesty will repent him of the resolve when repentance will no longer be of any use. Knowing that ambassador to be prudent and reserved, I should not have credited his having so greatly transgressed* (trascorso) *as was told me, but when he came to dine with me lately with some other Lords, he commenced speaking of the King in such a way as clearly to indicate a mind full of venom* (un animo pieno di veneno), *and I believe he would have spared no abuse, had not I who knew the thing turned the conversation on becoming accounts. This dissatisfaction on the part of the Genoese is moreover shared by all persons who have pecuniary transactions with his Majesty* (che sono interessati con Sua Maestà), *so that this resource failing him, and having no hope of assistance from the ordinary Indian supply, Spain likewise being exhausted by the forced exactions* (li partiti extremi) *levied for this war by Don Ruy Gomez, he is compelled to rely for money solely on these provinces, for which purpose the States were convoked, the proposal written by me being made to them, but as yet they have not replied, though all the representatives give it to be understood publicly that his Majesty demands what is impossible. This scarcity of money, although kept very secret, causes great anxiety, so that the chief personages listen very willingly to negotiations for peace; but the rest of the Court, and most especially the Spaniards, who are naturally audacious in prosperity, blame all those who think of peace: yet this universal opinion cannot prevail against necessity, which is often the foundation of (political?) resolves* (delle deliberationi). *This is all that I know authentically about the peace; and although I do not hear that the affair is being negotiated, it is told me on good authority that his Majesty and all the chief members of the*

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Council are much inclined towards it, for the reasons assigned by me, of want of money, and of the necessity for the King to go to Spain.

Brussels, 13th November 1557.

[*Italian, in cipher; deciphered by Signor Luigi Pasini.*]

Nov. 13. Original Letter Book, Venetian Archives.

1081. BERNARDO NAVAGERO, Venetian Ambassador in Rome, to the DOGE and SENATE.

Went to-day by appointment to the Pope, who, on rising from table, said the office and then withdrew into his chamber for the barber to trim his beard (*per farsi acconciar dal Barbier*), and when he came down, in reply to my congratulation on his very good looks, he said that he was performing his last day's journey; that he prayed the Lord God to grant him the grace to depart satisfied, and that he hoped in His divine mercy to obtain it, and that he should depart hence joyfully, like one who would rid himself of endless troubles, as he had never one hour's peace or repose. After listening to my rejoinder he embraced me, and continued, "We know not how our predecessors found time to gamble (*di giocar*), to play the wanton (*di lussuriar*), and to divert themselves. God forgive us if we sin in speaking thus, but we have this day been reading the life of St. Martin, who was a devout saint, first the soldier of Julian the Apostate, and then of Christ.

"We have but little news to tell you: the Legate our nephew has been for some days at Pisa with the Duke of Florence, who caressed and honoured him with such affection as his Excellency has always evinced towards us. The Cardinal wished to confer in that city with the Duke of Alva, which for the negotiation in hand would have been very desirable, but the Duke's arrival being delayed on account of the bad weather, which still continues, he departed on Friday. May God grant that he return with this palm of having concluded a good peace, we say a good one, because we should not wish for a peace like that of Cambrai, or like the truce made by them lately which caused all the past mischief, and the fire whereby this territory has been consumed, and had not we under the auspices and with the favour of the Signory extinguished it, it would now burn more than ever. Should they make peace through the mediation of the Vicar of Christ and of our agents, there is hope of its proving good, provided an expedition against the Turks be effected, in which we know not how easily we could persuade our Signory of Venice to join, her cities being exposed to their fury, and because of the Venetian trade with Turkey, and were we commissioned to exhort her to that effect we should take time to reply, knowing moreover how you were treated on a former occasion. If these Kings make peace through the medium of our Legates and of the Signory's ambassador, and every one have his share, it will go well, but otherwise we shall always doubt the result, and it will be necessary to open our eyes, as one and the other are bad lads, both of them are barbarians (*perchè sono mali garzoni l'uno et l'altro, tutti doi sono barbari*); and we must look around with Argus' eyes and keep provided, because one of two things will happen, either they will make peace or remain at war,

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in the which war should Sultan Soliman see King Philip to be the gainer, he will not fail to succour King Henry, as statecraft (*ragion di Stato*) requires it; and the Sultan is understood already to have even offered him money, which he never did previously; so that the Turks will be in Italy, and even if the French and Spaniards make terms, the Signory will be compelled to give them passage, in which case the Turk also will arm; nor can this be otherwise than detrimental to us, as we may dread a flood (*una piena*) through the agreement between these princes. We talk thus, like an old man, leaving your most prudent senators, who are so experienced in state-government, to ponder my words; nor will I omit to say that the best remedy against the tremendous and formidable power of Sultan Soliman, so much dreaded by all Christendom, is to foresee the peril, and apply such remedies as possible, in order not to be taken unawares."

The four Cardinals deputed to draw up the process against Cardinal Morone [Vice-Protector of England], were sent to the Castle yesterday by the Pope, who said to them that they were to go and to act in such a way that it was to be the last time. After my audience these four Cardinals came to his Holiness to report to him what they had done, which with difficulty can be discovered, as it does not get beyond those four and the Pope, even the other Cardinals of the Inquisition knowing nothing of it.

Rome, 13th November 1557.

[*Italian.*]

Nov. 14. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

1082. GIACOMO SORANZO, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

After remaining a day at Compiegne, the King returned to Paris. M. de Nevers had the King informed that he wished to discuss a matter of importance with him, for the benefit of his affairs, but his Majesty, not choosing him to leave those parts, replied that he would send thither M. de Guise, and go himself in person to Compiegne, as he did, to be present at the consultation, when it was determined to assemble the greatest amount of troops possible, which will not be less than* 20,000 *infantry, besides the cavalry, for the purpose of taking Chauni and fortifying it, and if they succeed it will seem to them to have done much, owing to the great importance of that place; they being of opinion that when it is fortified, the places which have been lost will be of very little importance to this kingdom. This undertaking being effected, they will then garrison all the fortresses with such number of troops as necessary, disbanding all the superfluous soldiery. They already intend to dismiss* 4,000 *Switzers of the* 10,000 *in these parts, who for this winter will return to their homes; and the* 6,000 *in the territory of La Bresse will be reduced to* 2,000, *all of which together with the rest of the other troops will remain where they are, although the suspicion of those German troops in the Franche Comté is quite at an end, it seeming that from want of money they had in great part dis-*

* François de Cleves. (*See* the late Sir William Hackett's Index to Foreign Calendar, "Mary.")

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persed themselves, and that the remainder would join the forces of the King of England for the sake of pay.

The Duke of Ferrara's envoy Fiaschino has not yet been despatched, nor as yet is it heard that his most Christian Majesty has a mind either to send troops into Piedmont, or to give farther assistance to his Excellency; and from what I hear on good authority, all the Duke of Ferrara (sic) [*Parma?*] *desires, is to obtain favour from the King of France, so that with more honour and more to his advantage he may stipulate an agreement which is being treated by the Duke of Ferrara. His Majesty inspected the fortifications at Compiegne, where he commenced in particular a stone bulwark.*

Concerning the benefices of Cardinal Farnese, I wrote that an abbacy had been given to the Cardinal of Sens,* but I heard subsequently that he had it from Cardinal Farnese, some say by purchase; nor have his other benefices been disposed of, but remain as before, and Cardinal Farnese is doing his utmost to convince the King that he has no share whatever in the proceedings of his brother the Duke of Parma.

Poissy, 14th November 1557.

[*Italian, partly in cipher; the portion in italics deciphered by Signor Luigi Pasini.*]

Nov. 14. Original Despatch Venetian Archives.

1083. MICHIEL SURIAN, Venetian Ambassador with King Philip, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The Duke of Savoy having been ordered by the King to return to this city after leaving the fortress well provided, his Excellency has departed from Han, that place being able in one direction to defend itself, and the rest of the works are still in progress. The Duke is gone with horse and foot towards the French territory. It is believed that he will march his troops hither through the enemy's country in order not to harass King Philip's provinces, and to use his own words, "to bid goodbye to the French" (*et per lasciar, come lui dice, la ben andata a' Francesi*). This soldiery, on their arrival here with the Duke, will be disbanded, except those destined for the frontiers, who will go into garrison in the places appointed them.

From Burgundy there is an advice that Polvilliers still remains there with some 8,000 infantry, and quarters them at discretion in the territory, until the order be given by the King either to pay or dismiss them; and to hasten this matter an envoy arrived here express a few days ago with news that the French troops are still on those confines, but have done no hurt to Burgundy, from which province a gentleman had been despatched to the Switzers to negotiate in King Philip's name with two of those cantons whose troops are in the service of France, that they should desire them not to act hostilely against this crown, contrary to treaties between the parties; and according to report Berne, which is one of the cantons, has already consented, and the like was hoped with regard to the other one. The danger in that quarter is thus provided for, and in the meanwhile they are endeavouring to provide funds for the payment of Polvillier's troops that they may not ravage the territory.

* Jean Bertrand. (*See* the late Sir William Hackett's Index to Foreign Calendar, "Mary.")

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Count de' Populi, the Pope's nephew, and King Philip's Captain-General of the light horse in the kingdom of Naples, has come hither in haste so as to arrive here before Cardinal Caraffa. He makes it appear that he is come to pay his respects to his Majesty, and for no other purpose; but I am told that it is not merely for this but for something of more importance, though as yet I am unable to discover what it is.

The Cardinal of Trent has not yet arrived, but is expected in a few days, and many of Cardinal Caraffa's attendants begin to arrive. Monsignor Fantuzo is waiting for him at Louvain, that they may make their entry into Brussels together.

Don Ferrante Gonzaga is very ill, the opinion being that he cannot live for many days. *Lately his son, Signor Cesare, a youth of very fine and most noble intellect, and who professes to be your Serenity's most loving servant, said to me in the course of a long conversation that his father had been very ill-treated, and that although every one knows how much his counsel has assisted King Philip in this war, the King himself showing by word of mouth that he acknowledges it, Don Ruy Gomez doing the like, yet nevertheless as yet no effective demonstration has been witnessed of the many that might have been made; and I know that this Signor Cesare aspired to be made gentleman of his Majesty's chamber, but as yet he has not had the appointment; so both Don Ferrante and all those who depend on him show themselves very dissatisfied, and believe that the demonstrations made in favour of him were more for the sake of appearance than for anything else. Signor Cesare expressed himself thus, that both the French and the Spaniards are all of one fashion; that in need they worship every one, and in prosperity they despise those who were the authors of their welfare, most especially if they are Italians.*

Brussels, 14th November 1557.

[*Italian, partly in cipher; the portions in italics deciphered by Signor Luigi Pasini.*]

Nov 17. **1084.** CARDINAL POLE to FATHER MIRANDA.*

MS., St. Mark's Library, Cod. XXIV. cl. x. p. 187 verso.

This letter will be given to you by the Abbot Gorio, from whom you will hear what I have to tell you. I am certain that the nature of the case is sufficient to induce you to exert all your energy about it for the service of God, and recommend it to you with my whole heart, praying you to give every direction and assistance to the said Abbot, and to communicate everything to him as to myself. You

* Bortolomeo Carranza de Miranda, Archbishop of Toledo; he was consecrated at Brussels by the Bishop of Arras in the church of the Dominicans on the 27th February 1558; received the confession of Charles V. on his death-bed, on the 21st September in that year, and was arrested by the Inquisition in Spain on the 28th August 1559. After being confined there in the dungeons of the "Holy Office" for upwards of a year, he was transferred to the prisons of the Inquisition at Rome. Pope Pius IV. suspended him from his functions for five years; after which sentence he was released, and retiring to a convent in Rome, died there in the year 1576. (*See* L'Art de Vérifier les Dates, p. 822, ed. Paris, 1770), and Bibliothèque Sacrée, vol. 6, pp. 112–116, where it is stated that the trial, which commenced in the reign of Pius IV., was continued by Pius V., and terminated by Gregory XIII. in 1576, on the 2nd of May.

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will also hear from him my reply to what you wrote about your nomination to the Archbishopric of Toledo, concerning which I had already written to you,* and congratulated myself with the King on so good and holy an election.

London, 17th November 1557.

[*Italian.*]

Nov. 20. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

1085. GIACOMO SORANZO, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

News came that the troops of the King of Spain had evacuated Noyon and Chauni, which places M. de Guise occupied immediately, but it was heard subsequently that the Spaniards had again mustered 17,000 infantry and 7,000 horse, and with the Duke of Savoy showed themselves within two leagues of Compeigne, on hearing which the French forces abandoning Noyon and Chauni retreated thither. On the night of the 14th the Duke of Savoy quartered himself at Noyon, and then retired with his forces, who burned everything on their passage, and it is believed to-day they are out of the French territory, the Flemings returning to Flanders, and the Germans to Germany; but on their march they continue burning, leaving only 6,000 infantry in St. Quentin, 4,000 in Han, and 1,000 in Le Catelet. After the passage of the said troops, 300 horse went out of La Fère and Guise, and captured 50 of the enemy's provision carts, and although 2,000 cavalry pursued them, they got safe into Peronne. Prisoners report that in the Spanish camp they suffer greatly from want of victuals and of bread; and that the Duke of Savoy, though intending to retreat, chose first to lay waste the whole territory, to prevent the French from encamping under any of the captured fortresses.

Chauni was burned almost completely by the enemy, so it is doubtful whether they will fortify it, or whether it would not be better to find another preferable site, but the general belief is that it will be fortified. M. de Guise continues mustering troops at Compiegne, where he has got together some 16,000 *infantry; and M. de Nevers is gone into Champagne to raise another body of troops there. Four days ago Marshal Strozzi departed from Compiegne with a single servant, and on returning thither he by order of M. de Guise came here to the Court, where he had a long conversation with the King. It is now said that M. de Guise will be here in two days, and although the affair proceeds with all possible secrecy, I hear on good authority that the expedition of Luxemburg is purposed, to which effect Strozzi went incognito to reconnoitre the fortresses there, the King wishing that during this winter some expedition should be made, he having already incurred the cost of the troops. Strozzi reports the enterprise to be easy when the season promises more propitious weather, but he rather dissuades the King from undertaking it than otherwise; nor does the Duke de Guise assent to it in any way, and will come to the Court to advise against it; but the King remains firm, choosing*

* See note, 3rd October, 1557, *ante*.

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the difficulties of the season to be overcome, as the weather is now very fine. It is intended to make the expedition with few cavalry to diminish the difficulty about provisions, but the greater part of the nobility of France are assembled at Compiegne. I also hear from a great personage that there is some project on foot for the recovery of Le Catelet, which if effected, and if St. Quentin and Han remain in the hands of the King of England, he would find it more difficult to keep them than it is at present; and as the fortification of St. Quentin is greatly commended here, so that of Han is condemned, much fault being found both with the construction of the bulwarks, and with the site of their foundation.

His most Christian Majesty has been informed lately from several quarters that King Philip intends presently to cross over to England, and these advices continuing, they begin to obtain credit, so it is debated whether he will cross armed or unarmed. Should he go with an army it is supposed that, under pretence of wishing to assist England against the Scots, his design is to establish himself there firmly by force of arms (con maggior fundamento) *than hitherto; but still many believe that he will cross to Spain, and return to these parts in the spring, in order to hold the Cortes in Spain, and obtain money, whereas by delaying to assemble the Cortes, he does himself great harm, though, at any rate, his passage to Spain is much desired at this Court.*

The German troops, who were near Bourg-en-Bresse and retreated, seem now to be again marching towards Lorraine, the French troops following, to prevent them from doing anything of importance; the Bernese retreat in like manner, *his Majesty not having chosen to assent to the attack on the Franche Comté, nor could they make it alone, from want of cavalry.* The King has determined that the 2,000 French infantry, who crossed the Alps with the Switzers, are to return to Piedmont; but the Switzers are reduced from 4,000 to 2,000, for when the King sent to replace the missing half with fresh levies they sent him such sorry troops that he rejected them; *and should this be of any benefit to the Duke of Ferrara the King will be well pleased, but Fiaschino does not seem to hope to obtain anything more. Inquiry was civilly made of me in the name of the Cardinal of Lorraine, whether it was true that you had been authorised by the King of England to reconcile* (di accordare) *the Duke of Ferrara to the Duke of Parma, which advice was received by his most Christian Majesty from Rome; and my answer was that I had heard nothing whatever.* Cardinal Farnese has written to King Henry, to Queen Catherine, and to all the chief personages of the Court, denying having had any share in the resolves of the Duke his brother (*per volersi giustificar che lui non è stato partecipe delle deliberationi del Duca suo fratello*), and in his letter to the King, as told me by a person who read it, he says that he regrets being Duke Ottavio's brother; *but the King most assuredly bears the said Cardinal very ill will, laying to his charge a great part of these resolves.**

* On the 1st of October 1557, Ottavio Farnese, Duke of Parma, took Monticoli and the Castle of S. Polo from the Duke of Parma, the ally of France. (*See* Andrea Morosini, vol. 2, p. 298.)

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The ambassador my successor was to leave Lyons on the 12th, so I expect him from day to day, and immediately after his audience of the King I shall depart on my way to your Serenity's feet.

Poissy, 20th November 1557.

[*Italian, partly in cipher; the portions in italics deciphered by Signor Luigi Pasini.*]

Nov. 20. Original Letter Book, Venetian Archives.

1086. BERNARDO NAVAGERO, Venetian Ambassador in Rome, to the DOGE and SENATE.

I hear that the witnesses, when giving their evidence against Cardinal Morone, prevaricate (*variano*), and that an autograph writing of his has been found, which he sent heretofore to Milan, to Gallo the Vicar of the Cardinal of Ferrara, telling him his opinion about the mode of preaching upon the important affairs of the faith which are alleged against him; and that the writing is most christian being derived from the depths of holy writ (*cavata dalle viscere della scrittura sacra.*)

Rome, 20th November 1557.

[*Italian.*]

Nov. 21. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

1087. GIACOMO SORANZO, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

Yesterday evening M. de Guise had the King informed that the German troops at Compiegne, in number about 5,000 *infantry, had threatened mutiny, they being creditors for four months' pay, and complaining that the cost of victuals was increasing* (andava crescendo), *so his Excellency made a pressing demand for the transmission of money to quiet the troops before open mutiny, as also to prevent the rest of the army from doing the like. The King sent the Cardinal of Lorraine to Paris immediately to obtain pecuniary supply, which begins to be scarce, so that the light horse and a great part of the infantry were allowed lately to live in many places at discretion, though it is confirmed in every quarter that the money will be forthcoming, and, according to report, very great supplies are being provided. Owing to this fresh accident M. de Guise will not come to the Court at present, as was expected, and Marshal Strozzi departed hence to-day on his way to his Excellency at Compiegne, nor as yet has any decision been formed about the Luxemburg expedition, or against any other place, it seeming on the contrary that this casualty has added greater difficulties.*

The troops of the King of Spain are understood to be already out of the French territory, except those in garrison in the captured fortresses, and they are said to have done great damage by sacking and burning whatever they could, so that they destroyed the whole country through which they passed. The Marshal de St. André and the Count Rhinegrave, who are prisoners to the Duke of Brunswick in Germany, are negotiating that Duke's entry into the French service with a good number of cavalry, and it is hoped the treaty will succeed.

A knight of Rhodes has arrived at the Court, sent by the new

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Grand Master, who is a native of Provence,* he having been first to the Court of the King of Spain, where the Constable gave him letters of favour for King Henry. The chief cause of his coming is to convoke the knights in this kingdom and elsewhere universally, and to obtain export-permits for grain for the island of Malta, as they say they hear that next year Sultan Soliman will undertake that expedition, so they are preparing for their defence. The aforesaid knight reports that the Grand Master has (*haverà*) 300,000 crowns ready money, with which he intends to make a new fortification on the island, at a place where it can be surrounded by the sea, thus rendering it impregnable.†

Captain Polino‡ has arrived at the Court, and at the request of the Duke de Guise and the Cardinal the King will deprive him of the command of the fleet and confer it on one of their brothers, the Grand Prior of France.§

Poissy, 21st November 1557.

[*Italian, partly in cipher; the portions in italics deciphered by Signor Luigi Pasini.*]

Nov. 23. Original Letter Book, Venetian Archives.

1088. BERNARDO NAVAGERO, Venetian Ambassador in Rome, to the DOGE and SENATE.

To-day at 2 p.m., the hour appointed me by the Pope, I found in the antechamber the Cardinal Dean, the Cardinals Cesis, Reumano, Sermoneta, and Consiglieri, the ambassadors of France, of England, and of Florence, and the Commissary-General, whom his Holiness heard first, then the ambassador of Florence, when it being already night, he called me, saying, "We will despatch you, and as for the others they must take patience for to-day, whether they like it or not." I said that I would perform my business quickly, and told him of the commission given me by your Serenity about the death of the Archbishop of Nicosia,‖ narrating to him the importance of the kingdom of Cyprus, and the need of that See to have a primate resident there; as also the wish of your Sublimity to have it conferred on one of your noblemen on whom you can rely. He replied, "May God accept in peace the Archbishop's soul, pardoning him the error of not having been at his church;" and he expressed surprise at the past Popes who had allowed that kingdom to be for so long a while without its Archbishop, commending your Serenity for not having nominated one person rather than another, as temporal princes ought to leave spiritual matters to be ruled by those who have become old in their management, and have this charge; as they sometimes recommend certain persons, seeing merely the bark,

* By name Jean de la Valette, elected on the 21st August 1557. (*See* L'Art de Vérifier les Dates.)

† The Grand Master realized this project in the year 1566. (*See* Busching's Geography, Italian translation, vol. 25 b, p. 185.)

‡ About Captain Polino, *alias* Escalin Antoine, *alias* Baron de la Garde. *See* the late Sir William Hackett's Index to Foreign Calendar, "Mary;" and Brantome, "Hommes Illustres et Grande Capitaines," vol. 2, p. 371.

§ Marquis d'Elbœuf, General of the Galleys of France, youngest brother of the House of Guise. (*See* Foreign Calendar, "Mary," p. 264.)

‖ By name Andrea Centani. (*See* Le Quien, vol. 3, column 1230.)

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whereas had their interior been known they would not have been recommended; nor can it be supposed that the people can be ruled without religion, for even in other times the false religion assisted the governments, and therefore Numa Pompilius introduced (*introdusse*) the nymph Egeria to restrain the people, others availing themselves of other inventions.

Rome, 23rd November 1557.

[*Italian.*]

Nov. 26. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

1089. GIACOMO SORANZO, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The Cardinal of Lorraine went to Paris to raise pecuniary supply for transmission to Compiegne, and on arriving there sent for some of the chief persons, who are also the most wealthy, owing to many favours bestowed on them by the Crown of France, and told them that the King had now need of 120,000 crowns, and that as there was no speedier way to find that sum than to ask it of them as a loan, he requested them in his Majesty's name to accommodate him with it immediately; and to set them a good example, his right reverend Lordship offered to lend 10,000 crowns of his own, as he did; so all of them consenting to contribute, the money was paid, and few were those who lent less than 4,000 crowns, the sum total being then sent to Compiegne. Thus the commencement of the mutiny is quite quelled.

M. de Nevers, who went into Champagne to raise troops, joined those who had been destined for Bourg-en-Bresse, with others in Champagne, thus mustering 6,000 Switzers, 4,000 Germans, and about 5,000 Frenchmen, with 2,000 horse, and a good number of artillery. *It is understood that he is in marching order for the province of Luxemburg, and matters proceeding very secretly, it is not known in detail what expedition he will undertake, though the public report is that he will merely go to victual Marienburg. In this other direction, M. de Guise is at Compiegne, he also being ready to march with about the same number of troops, and he has already sent much artillery in advance to a place from whence he may either take the road to the Luxemburg territory, or elsewhere, as he shall think most to the purpose. His decision will depend on the way in which he sees the enemy proceed, they not being all out of France as reported, some of them having halted on the confines between St. Quentin and Guise; and, according to the last advices, they had retreated a day's march farther into the interior, and the Duke of Savoy had left the army.*

M. de Termes went to inspect Chauni, and found it much more destroyed than was at first believed, and on returning to M. de Guise it is understood that they determined to build a new Chauni on this side of the river Oise, and to fortify it strongly, doing the like by Noyon and Cussy. Almost all the nobility of France are with M. de Guise, and they are said to number about 4,000 horse, and from all quarters tents, pavilions, and other necessaries for warfare are being sent to the army, *together with such supplies of every sort that they do not seem to imply a campaign of merely a few days.*

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In these parts the King pays 104 ensigns of Frenchmen and 64 of Switzers and Germans, and although the French companies are incomplete, the foot soldiers paid by his Majesty exceed 60,000.

Some days ago an ambassador from Portugal arrived here post-wise, on his way to King Philip, and obtained a passport from his Majesty to cross the frontiers; but two posts beyond Senlis, riding on (*correndo tuttavia*), he was assaulted by 10 blacksmith-cavalry, with the red bands,* who took away from him all his valises, and departed without doing farther harm either to the ambassador or to any of his attendants. The ambassador then returned hither and complained to the King, who evinced much regret, promising to write to the Duke de Guise, and to take such other steps as necessary, but as yet nothing has been discovered, and the ambassador says that in the valises there were 8,000 crowns in cash, and jewels worth 3,000 crowns. *As this assault took place far from the frontier it seemed impossible for it to have been made by the troops of the King of England, which with great difficulty could have advanced so far into the interior; and it is therefore suspected that those valises were carried off, not so much for the money, as to intercept any despatch which the ambassador might have been bringing from the Emperor to the King of England, as similar letters have often been found in the packets of these Portuguese ambassadors.*

Two ambassadors have come from the Queen of Hungary† in her own name, and that of her son King Stephen, to demonstrate the injuries done to their Majesties by the King of the Romans. They made three demands of his most Christian Majesty; first, that their King would wish for a French wife, suited to his station; secondly, that King Henry should recommend him to Sultan Soliman, and urge the latter especially to restore to him the Duchy of Temeswar, which the Sultan had in ward, to prevent its falling into the hands of the King of the Romans, under promise of giving it back to King Stephen, on his arriving at a suitable age as at present, he being now 19 years old. Thirdly, Queen Elizabeth requests his Majesty to send an ambassador to her King, with orders to proceed to Constantinople to favour King Stephen's affairs, whenever requested. They gave it to be understood that they have great need of these favours, owing to the endless insolent treatment of their country by the Turks; so they hope that should the King of France consent to give their King a wife dependant on him, and simultaneously send this ambassador to the Turk, he would pay greater respect to Hungary than he has done hitherto. Although at this Court there is no woman to suit his purpose, the King of France will not fail to show him all suitable favour, as he being the enemy of the King of the Romans, the French interests will thus be benefited.

As a present for the King, the ambassadors brought a mineral specimen of a mountain in Transylvania, containing much gold; and

* St. George's *red* cross, in contradistinction to the *white* lily of France; the blacksmith highwaymen thus giving it to be understood that they were in the service of the King of England, and not of France.

† Elizabeth, daughter of Sigismund King of Poland, and widow of John Zapolski; her son, who was christened Stephen, as in this despatch, is commonly called John Sigismund. (*See* L'Art de Vérifier les Dates.)

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to the Queen and other chief personages of the Court they gave certain other pieces of another sort of mineral found in a river in their country, and which also contain much gold.

Compiegne, 26th November 1557.

[*Italian, partly in cipher; the portions in italics deciphered by Signor Luigi Pasini.*]

Nov. 27. Original Letter Book, Venetian Archives.

1090. BERNARDO NAVAGERO, Venetian Ambassador in Rome, to the DOGE and SENATE.

For the purpose of praying God for the peace, the Pope has published a jubilee in Rome and the district, of which I enclose the printed copy.

Of this peace there is little hope here, and the English Ambassador told my secretary that he sees peace to be very difficult, and the truce almost impossible, because King Philip will not give an opportunity to the King of France to recruit his forces, nor consent to his retaining, by means of a truce, all that he has occupied belonging to others; especially as the Catholic King may have hope of making some progress in France, now that he is master of England; for although heretofore the King of England made war on the French to favour the Emperor, he nevertheless always had an eye not to depress the most Christian King so much, and to make the Emperor so great as to give France cause to fear him, and he therefore endeavoured to preserve the balance, which is no longer considered, now that the same person holds the realms and states which the Emperor and the kingdom of England had; and concerning this matter of peace the French ambassador said to me that to effect this cure, it is necessary first of all to draw blood.

The Commissary-General, and the right reverend the Dean, to whom the Pope referred the lawsuit of the Queen of France [Catherine de' Medici] about the estates of the late Cardinal de' Medici and of Duke Alessandro, the greater part of which passed to Madame [Margaret] of Austria, now the wife of Duke Ottavio Farnese, have pronounced sentence *prout in cedulâ*, about part of said estates, viz., a deposit of 20,000 crowns, comprising many particulars.*

Rome, 27th November, 1557.

[*Italian.*]

Nov. 27. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

1091. MICHIEL SURIAN, Venetian Ambassador with King Philip, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The troops with the Duke of Savoy who went to ravage France have been repulsed by the French with considerable loss, and the Duke will be here in two days, returning postwise, having at the frontiers dismissed his remaining troops, without, however, paying them entirely.

It is confirmed that the King of France is on these frontiers with a large army corps, so King Philip, who went to hunt, returned

* Lawsuit between Catherine di Medici and Margaret of Austria. See also *post*, date 19th February 1558.

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yesterday to make the necessary provision, not to resist with an army in the field, which he has no thought of doing, but merely for the defence of the frontiers; nor, in fact, could he give battle, the whole of the Duke of Savoy's army being already disbanded (disfatto). *The only troops remaining are in the fortresses, which are very well supplied with soldiers, but the fortifications are not secure, most especially those of Han and St. Quentin, nor are they sufficiently victualled. To supply this deficiency, the Duke of Savoy advanced into France, but not having succeeded, provisions must be sent from hence, where the scarcity is already insupportable; and another difficulty is that of pecuniary supply, about which cabinet councils are held daily. It has been projected to make a loan thus, that his Majesty's ancient creditors who have no fixed security* (assegnamenti), *on supplying him at present with other sums, are within a certain time to be repaid what they now disburse, and with as much more besides* (et di altrettanta somma appresso), *on account of their old credits; and the Fuggers were the first to lend* 200,000 *crowns, the King binding himself to repay this sum, and an equal amount of their old credits, with the first money received by him, viz. what came lately from the Indies, and which is expected here shortly. On these terms it would be easy to raise a large sum of money, but it is not easy to find assignments as security for the contractors, all the King's revenues being mortgaged; so his Majesty's present and future need being urgent, he has willed to lay hands* (ha voluto metter le mani) *on the* 700,000 *ducats belonging to the merchants, which came from the Indies, and although the parties concerned* (li interessati) *complain of it, they must nevertheless take patience, and be satisfied with such security as they can get. With this money and with the* 200,000 *obtained from the Fuggers several of his Majesty's debts in these provinces will be paid, and they are sending some* 60,000 *or* 70,000 *ducats to Duke Ottavio Farnese for the costs incurred by him in that quarter.*

The Diet of these States has not yet formed any resolve, but as they have complained that the greater part of the vast sums given by them to the King are squandered (*dissipata*) by his ministers, he has ordained that for the future they are to make such payments as necessary, without their passing through the hands of the court officials, and has desired that a note be given them of the moneys required for the custody of the frontiers and other necessary expenses; which is merely for the sake of making the States consent more easily to the contribution, as should any of the ministers wish to enrich themselves this measure will not prevent them from doing so.

Brussels, 27th November 1557.

[*Italian, partly in cipher; the portions in italics deciphered by Signor Luigi Pasini.*]

Nov. 28. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

1092. MICHIEL SURIAN, Venetian Ambassador with King Philip, to the DOGE and SENATE.

I this day received your Serenity's letter, with the instruction relating to the affairs *of the Duke of Ferrara. This negotiation is in the hands of the Duke of Alva, commissioned by the King to adjust it, and I understand that the Duke of Ferrara will be satisfied. I*

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am told that King Philip shows himself inclined towards this agreement, especially because he sees Duke Ottavio [Farnese] to be slow and tardy in that war, and has suspicion of the Duke of Florence, his Excellency attending apparently to nothing but his own interest, and that therefore they can promise themselves nothing from him. A few days ago one of the King's chief councillors told the Florentine ambassador that his Majesty has no cause to commend him, as his Excellency had been more prompt to take possession of Sienna than to abide by the articles of the treaty and by his promises. This reproof made the ambassador lose heart, so that he abandoned the negotiation he had in hand for the peace with Ferrara, and the affair which he was treating about the privilege for the investiture of Sienna (privilegio della investitura di Siena). *The hatred of this Court to the Duke of Florence increases, and the persons who consented to Sienna being given him* (che se li dia Siena) *are loudly vituperated, the King's confessor, on the contrary, and the others who opposed the grant being applauded.*

Peace with France is most earnestly desired, though not much hoped for, unless it take place through Cardinal Caraffa, who for this sole reason is anxiously expected; as for the rest, no one approves of his coming (che per il resto non è niuno che lo veda volentieri a venire).

I had almost forgotten to write that the English gained lately a great victory over the Scots, having routed and dispersed their army and captured many chief lords and gentlemen.

The Duke of Savoy arrived here an hour ago.

Brussels, 28th November 1557.

[*Italian, partly in cipher; the portions in italics deciphered by Signor Luigi Pasini.*]

Nov. 28. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives. (2nd letter.)

1093. MICHIEL SURIAN, Venetian Ambassador with King Philip, to the DOGE and SENATE.

His Majesty's troops in Burgundy have disbanded completely, and that expedition has vanished into smoke (è andata in fumo), *although at the commencement it seemed to have some foundation,* viz. the arrangement made by these ministers to occupy one of the gates of the city of Lyons. The Burgundians offered to go themselves to perform that undertaking, it seeming to them that they might succeed better than the others from being nearer at hand and having more experience of the country* (et più pratici del paese);† *but the Bishop of Arras‡ gave counsel that this enterprise should be confided to Polvilliers, a man very well adapted to affairs of that sort, and who has many followers in Alsatia and on those frontiers; he is also the creature of his right reverend Lordship. The plot having failed, the Bishop is accused of having recommended Polvilliers, not for the public benefit but on private*

* The object of the expedition was to seize Lyons. (*See* Père Daniel, vol. 9, p. 844.)

† The *County* of Burgundy, 90 miles in length, and 60 in breadth, was bounded on the east by Switzerland, on the west by the *Duchy* of Burgundy (held by France), on the south by Savoy, and on the north by Lorraine and Upper Germany. The inhabitants of the county of Burgundy were staunch to King Philip. (*See* Report of Spain by Federico Badoer (1556–1557), in Alberi's collection, series 1, vol. 3, p. 299.)

The Bishop of Arras was a native of Besançon, in the *county* of Burgundy.

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accounts, as being the enemy of all the Burgundians and especially of M. de Ri [Rieux?] who offered to perform this exploit, he would not consent to its being accomplished by their hands; so his right reverend Lordship has left the Court, and is residing at a place of his near Antwerp until this hurricane (queste furie) *blows over. Thus everything in the Council of State here is very ill-regulated, from the desire each of its members has to humble his colleague, and if these times and fashions last, such a one who is now in a very lofty position may easily fall into an abyss. On the Duke of Alva's arrival, some great novelty will possibly be witnessed, although that personage did a thing lately which has greatly displeased the King and is exaggerated by his Excellency's adversaries. The fact is that the Duke asked the Pope for the concession of certain property* (certi beni) *in Spain, belonging to one of the military and religious orders there, held heretofore by the Grand Commendator Covos; and it has seemed very strange that as this grant appertains to the King in right of his "sanction"* (per ragione della sua pragmatica), *the Duke of Alva should have chosen to ask this benefice of the Pope without a word from his Majesty. It is therefore supposed that the Duke has a secret understanding with his Holiness, whose interests he favours more than those of the King; but with all this his Excellency has so many adherents and such great authority* (tanto seguito et tanta autorità), *most especially in these times when men are so much needed, that his coming hither is dreaded by all those who are not of his party, and Don Ruy Gomez, perhaps from fear of inability to resist single-handed so many who envy him, is uniting himself* (si va restringendo) *with the Count de Feria, whose repute augments daily. The Cardinal of Trent [Cristoforo Mandrucci] is here for his private affairs, all of which consist in obtaining honours and pecuniary reward for his services from the King. The Count di Populi and Ascanio dalla Cornia are attempting the like, and both in public and private they say so much evil of the Pope and of Cardinal Caraffa, that they discredit themselves, and most especially the Count di Populi, who being his Holiness' nephew, ought rather to excuse and defend him, or at least moderate his abuse. Garcilasso de la Vega, who arrived two days ago, also performs the same offices, and all these personages tell the King that he would do well not to allow Cardinal Caraffa to depart hence, so as thus to make sure of the Pope, which advice, should it reach the Cardinal's ears, will perhaps prevent him from continuing his journey. Don Garcilasso's arrival has caused the King to appoint his Maggiordomo, Don Diego de Azevedo, ambassador to the Pope, this having somewhat relieved me from my doubt of their giving this post to the ambassador Vargas, sending subsequently to your Serenity in his stead, Don Diego de Mendoza; though I am not quite free from this suspicion, it being said that Don Diego de Azevedo is not going to Rome as resident ambassador, but solely for the performance of this first office, to which effect he will depart in two days.*

Brussels, 28th November 1557.

[*Italian partly in cipher; the portions in italics deciphered by Signor Luigi Pasini.*]

1557.
Nov. 29.
Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

1094. GIACOMO SORANZO, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The day before last Monsieur de la Brochia [De la Brosse ?] *Lieutenant of the Duke de Guise and in great favour with him, came to tell the King in his Excellency's name, that he the Duke was ready to march on receiving any command from him, but that it was his opinion and that of the whole army, that the season being so far advanced nothing of importance for his Majesty's service could be done, as were any expedition to be undertaken, it would be principally necessary to effect it with a good number of cavalry, which being now scarce, and in bad condition, owing to the late affairs, might be reduced even to a much worse state than at present, whereas on the contrary if left to repose during the winter there might be hopes in the spring of its doing good service; so he prayed the King to be content that for the present winter things should pass without making any farther expedition. This advice being much favoured here by the Cardinal of Lorraine, the King sent back Monsieur de la Brochia to Compiegne to tell the Duke that although his Majesty would have wished that some expedition should have been attempted, he desires a fresh consultation should be held by M. de Guise, with the counsel of those other Lords, who, being on the spot and knowing the disposition of the soldiers, and other necessary particulars, better than they can be known by those who are at a distance, may be enabled to form conclusions with which the King would be satisfied. The chief personages of the Court are therefore of opinion that no fresh undertaking will be attempted at present, and that it is for the King's interest to attend to fortifying Chauni and the other places about which I wrote, and it has also been determined to do the like by Nesle near Peronne, and Guise will be rendered more secure than it is at present. M. de Guise will therefore perhaps advance with the troops to recover* (rivoler) *the frontiers, he in person garrisoning all the places strongly, in which case the* 104 *ensigns of French infantry will be reduced to* 40 *complete companies, the rest being disbanded, and all the Switzers and Germans will be retained. I have also heard on good authority that his Excellency desires the delay greatly for his own personal advantage, it seeming to him that at this commencement of his rule, to begin with an undertaking of such difficult success could not but vastly disparage his repute.*

The ambassadors* from Portugal have again complained most bitterly to his Majesty of the assault narrated by me, and subsequently the King sent Don Juan de Luna to assure them that he will not fail to satisfy them according to law (*in quello che porterà la giustitia*). Don Juan found them greatly exasperated, both on account of the loss they have suffered, as also because such steps as would be fitting are not taken for their indemnity; and the ambassador on his way to the King of Spain told De Luna that after the robbery he went to Compiegne, where his attendants saw two of the "blacksmiths" who plundered him, and although he told

* Namely, the one resident at the Court of King Henry, the other passing through France on his way to King Philip.

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this to M. de Guise, his Excellency nevertheless made no provision whatever. In conclusion they said they knew they had been robbed not so much for the sake of taking their money, as to see if they had a packet of letters from the Emperor, but that not having found any, by so much the more would it be fitting to restore their money and jewels; and that should they be put off with fair words, they will make the whole case known in detail as it took place to their Queen,* and to the council of the kingdom, who they were certain would protest and not endure such an outrage. *But their suit has been referred to the privy council, and it seems that in fact no step of importance has been taken.*

Poissy, 29th November 1557.

[*Italian, partly in cipher; the portions in italics deciphered by Signor Luigi Pasini.*]

Dec. 2. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

1095. GIACOMO SORANZO, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the Doge and Senate.

M. de Nevers went with his troops as far as Metz, with the intention of advancing into the Luxemburg territory, but the weather has been so bad that he is still detained there. The Duke de Guise in like manner yet remains at Compiegne with his forces, some mortality prevailing amongst them, as the deaths average 50 daily; and his Excellency also will apparently take the field, having been unable to do so hitherto because the troops of the King of England returned into the French territory, and after crossing the Oise between La Fere and Compiegne, they continued advancing between Laon and Guise, apparently in the direction of Marienburg. What his Excellency means to do, on taking the field, is unknown, but it has been hinted to me that he will attempt the recovery of Han, the fortification of which place does not seem to have been well understood nor is it rendered secure, so by battering it with 60 guns already prepared to join the army, they hope soon to take it; and should this undertaking fail, they rely on occupying Arras. But as all these things are kept very secret, I can only write what I hear, and that 50,000 francs have been sent, to give all the troops one month's pay.

The day before yesterday that individual returned from Germany, who after the rout of the Constable was sent thither several times to negotiate with the Princes there, and he brings back word that for next year his Majesty shall have 4,000 cavalry from their territory, and a Colonel with 25 ensigns of foot, who this year served the King of England. San Piero the Corsican has arrived here at the Court, having come from Constantinople to Marseilles with two Turkish galliots, on board of which were two "ciaus" (messengers) from Sultan Soliman, who remained at Marseilles, and have sent to know whether his Majesty is content that they should come to him in the Sultan's name; and he has been sent back to them to let them know that they are welcome. San Piero reports that he elicited from them that Sultan Soliman sent them,

* Catherine of Austria, sister of the Emperor Charles V., and widow of John III., King of Portugal, who died on the 6th or 7th June 1557.

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on hearing of the rout of the Constable, to assure the King that the Sultan would send his very powerful fleet, with orders even to winter (at sea?) should it be to his Majesty's satisfaction. Colonel San Piero also reports, that an envoy (un homo) *is also coming* [from Marseilles to Paris] *in the name of Dtrogut Rais* [Dragut Reis] * *to pray King Henry to request Sultan Soliman to give him the command of the fleet, promising should he obtain this charge, through the favour of his most Christian Majesty, that he will do very great things for his service; and on despatching the two "ciaus," the King will send Captain Polino, alias Paulin, to Constantinople.*†

After Christmas the King will go to Paris with the Court, for celebration of the Dauphin's marriage to the Queen of Scotland; and also that of Madame Claude, his Majesty's second daughter, to the Duke of Lorraine.

Poissy, 2nd December 1557.

[*Italian, partly in cipher; the portions in italics deciphered by Signor Luigi Pasini.*]

Dec. 3. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

1096. GIACOMO SORANZO, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

With regard to the ambassador from Portugal, an order was given for the imprisonment of the master of the post-house nearest to the spot where the robbery took place; and the Portuguese ambassador resident here has been promised permission for a person nominated by him to be present at the examinations, that he may be convinced that all diligence will be used to discover the delinquents; so the ambassador on his way to the Court of the King of Spain departed well satisfied.

By order of the most Christian King, Don Juan de Luna busied himself in this matter, and informed his Majesty that the Portuguese ambassador told him that in his valises was a letter from Queen Eleanor the Emperor's sister,† *with which he was commissioned to visit the Constable in the said Queen's name; being also ordered by the Queen of Portugal to perform a similar office. On hearing this, the King said to Don Juan, "So this ambassador will have means to visit the Constable?" and when Don Juan replied that thus had the ambassador told him; the King added, "Say to him as from yourself, out of the friendship you have with the Constable, that he do tell him again to endeavour to have a passport, in such a form that without rejoinder or difficulty Madame the Constable his wife may go to visit him." This Don Juan civilly* (con bel

* Of Dragut's exploits from 1553 to May 1557, there are many notices in "Foreign Calendar, Mary." From the historian Andrea Morosini we learn that in 1538 he was the lieutenant of *Barbarossa*, alias *Barberousse*, misnamed by Shakespear's printers, "*Bargulus* the strong *Illyrian* pirate," (see second part of King Henry VI., Act 4, Scene 1,) although he was born at Mitylene on the island of Lesbos; but as in 1539 Barbarossa landed from the Gulf of Cattaro, taking Castel Nuovo, and ravaged the coast of Illyria, his name connected itself intimately with that province, the printers are not without some apology.

Barbarossa's lieutenant and successor Dragut "Reis," was killed by a splinter at the siege of Malta, where he commanded the expedition in the name of Sultan Soliman, in the year 1565.

† Widow of Francis I., King of France.

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modo) *offered to do, and then went to the Queen, who told him he ought to perform the aforesaid office; adding that it was impossible to hope to bring these two Kings to an agreement by any other means; and that if the Constable were sent hither for this negotiation and it should be impossible to effect the release of his Excellency unless peace be made, nothing was more desirable than that the Constable by his intellect should find means to accomplish both these results. After this Cardinal Chastillon* [Odet de Coligny], *nephew of the Constable, who loves him as a son, also spoke with Don Juan de Luna, and told him that should Madame the Constable be enabled to go, and remain freely with his Excellency, a good overture might be anticipated for treating the agreement. Don Juan spoke accordingly with the ambassador, and told him, as from himself, that it is impossible to commence any negotiation for agreement unless the Constable come hither, because the Guise family having always favoured the war, it may be credited that also at present they will do the like, and still more for the purpose of keeping the Constable at a distance, fearing lest his presence diminish their authority; and therefore should the King of England have a mind to come to some adjustment with France, there is no better way than to give the Constable permission to come here, leaving his sons as hostages, to which King Philip apparently consented; but that should he choose to commence making known his goodwill, he ought to send the passport in so ample a form, that Madame the Constable may go and remain with his Excellency without any difficulty. In conclusion De Luna exhorted the ambassador not only to speak about this with the Constable, but also to Don Ruy Gomez, who is nearly related to the said ambassador,* and has always shown himself desirous of an agreement between these Princes.*

Poissy, 3rd December, 1557.

[*Italian, partly in cipher; the portion in italics deciphered by Signor Luigi Pasini.*]

Dec. 5. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

1097. GIOVANNI MICHIEL and GIACOMO SORANZO, Venetian Ambassadors in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

I, Giovanni, arrived here at the Court three days ago, and yesterday being introduced into the King's presence, I delivered my credentials; and I, Giacomo, then presented my successor. These offices being ended, as the Dauphin and the Duke of Lorraine were in the King's chamber, we did the like by them, as also by her Majesty and by the Queen of Scotland, to whose apartments we passed on, going beyond to those of Madame Marguerite and of the Duchess of Valentinois, each of whom evinced much graciousness and very great affection towards your Serenity, especially Queen Catherine.

Poissy, 5th December 1557.

(Signed) Your Serenity's servants,
GIOVANNI MICHIEL,
GIACOMO SORANZO, K. } Ambassadors.

[*Italian.*]

* Ruy Gomez was by birth a Portuguese.

1557.
Dec. 6.
Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

1098. The SAME to the SAME.

M. de Guise has left Compiegne and is gone towards Guise, it is said, to inspect that fortress, and to give a fresh order for its fortification; the army also is on the point of moving from Compiegne. Although, according to public report, the troops will be divided in garrisons, it nevertheless continues to be surmised that it is intended to make some expedition, and some persons now go jeering (et da qualche uno hora si va moteggiando), *that it might be that of Calais. We cannot learn against what places this design will take effect, but provisions, ammunition, a greater amount of artillery, and many gentlemen with their tents and pavilions, and other necessaries for war, and for encampment at this season, are constantly on their way to the army. His most Christian Majesty also continues more than ever bent on the performance of some undertaking, at any rate, being confirmed in his opinion by the weather, which continues very fair.*

The day before yesterday a Spanish gentleman arrived here with a safe conduct allowing him to pass into Spain, obtained through the Constable; and it being addressed by his Excellency to the Cardinal de Chastillon [*Odet de Coligny*], *the latter watched the hour for introducing him to the King during the absence of the Cardinal of Lorraine, which was when he had taken leave of his Majesty, to go to bed; and at that hour, the Spaniard, being introduced to the King, presented him with a packet of letters from the Lord Constable, and having been for about two hours with his Majesty, he mounted postwise to continue his journey to Spain. Since then it has been understood that he brought some fresh advice about the negotiation for peace commenced by the Duchess of Lorraine with the Constable, but we have been unable to learn farther particulars. A few days ago the Duke of Lorraine sent a house-steward to invite the Duchess his mother to his marriage with the daughter of the most Christian King, and with this opportunity, the messenger is supposed to have brought some reply about this negotiation.*

The death of Don Ferrante [Gonzaga] has been heard of here, and yesterday, when talking with us at dinner, the Cardinal of Lorraine said, "If all the councillors of the King of Spain had been of the opinion of Don Ferrante, after the rout of the Constable, this King would have been in much greater trouble than he now finds himself."*

Your Serenity's letter of the 20th ultimo alludes to congratulations destined for the King on the arrival of the Cardinal Legate Triulzi, but it is reported here that his legateship has been revoked, and that Cardinal Caraffa after having been with the King of Spain, will come hither with King Philip's consent; about which the Cardinal of Lorraine also said something to us yesterday.

Poissy, 6th December 1557.

[*Italian, partly in cipher; the portions in italics deciphered by Signor Luigi Pasini.*]

* This remark supplies omissions in Litta's biography of Don Ferrante, who after the rout of the Constable, proposed marching to Paris. As he was an Imperialist the modern Italians ignore his military talents.

1557.
Dec. 7.
MS. St. Mark's Library, Cod XXIV., Cl. x., p. 188 recto.

1099. CARDINAL POLE to FATHER MIRANDA [Bartolomeo Carranza de Miranda].

Having heard that the King has set apart a certain sum upon the revenue of the church of Toledo for distribution amongst several persons, and not knowing whether his Majesty has yet quite decided to whom he will assign the said revenues, I think it fitting to mention two Cardinals, namely, the right reverends Puteo* and S. Clemente,† whom I know to be in great want and difficulties; and in addition to their good qualities, rendering them worthy of his Majesty's favour and assistance, they also deserve it for the promptitude and affection which they always evinced, by exerting themselves for what was required with regard to the affairs of the religion here. It has occurred to me to pray your Reverend Paternity to be pleased to perform this office in my name with his Majesty if you deem it opportune; and should the distribution of the said sum be already settled, his Majesty, if he liked, might remember these two well deserving prelates and poor good men when conferring the church of St. James [of Compostella], or on some other early occasion.

London, 7th December 1557.

[*Italian.*]

Dec. 8.
Original Letter Book, Venetian Archives.

1100. BERNARDO NAVAGERO, Venetian Ambassador in Rome, to the DOGE and SENATE.

This morning I had a visit from the Cardinal Dean [Jean de Bellai] who told me that peace is hopeless, unless an attempt be made by means of King Philip to release the Constable, as all the persons in authority about King Henry are of the house of Guise, who all wish for war, although peace is desired by Madame de Valentinois, who has so aggrandised (*ingrandito*) her family, that it can not be greater; but should the Constable be free he would be an opportune instrument, and the Cardinal wished the Signory to propose this release to King Philip on payment of a fair ransom. I answered in general terms; and he then continued, that he, de Bellai, was always the mover (*auttor*) of the peace; that the war was advocated (*persuasa*) by the Guise family and by the Cardinal of Lorraine; that when the war was determined he (de Bellai) was of opinion that it should be waged briskly; that the Duke de Guise having written to the King in France, that the reverses of Italy were caused by the Pope and his ministers, and that therefore he the Duke de Guise intended to depart, de Bellai gave him to understand previously, that it was detrimental for the King to abandon the Pope and leave him at the mercy of the common enemy; after

* Puteo, or du Puy, or dal Pozzo, born at Nice in Provence, one of the most famous jurists of his time, created Cardinal by Julius III. Such was his reputation for virtue and learning, that on the death of Paul IV. he very nearly obtained a sufficient number of votes in conclave to render him his successor. (*See* Cardella, vol. 4, pp. 314–315.

† Giambattista Cicala, of a noble Genoese family, was created Cardinal, with the title of S. Clemente, by Julius III. on the 20th December 1551. He also was a very learned lawyer and a man of great fortitude and valour, so that it was said of him that Julius III. wrote to the Emperor Charles V. that he had the courage to charge a squadron of men-at-arms. (*See* Cardella as above, p. 326.)

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which seeing him bent on departure he protested against his going, as the Pope in despair would do whatever the Imperialists compelled him (*cignassero*) to do; and that de Bellai wrote in conformity to the King, who commended his opinion, and thus gave a fresh order to the Duke de Guise to remain; from which the peace subsequently ensued, and although it was not an honourable one for the Pope, it was at least less shameful and injurious. De Bellai said that in exchange for so many benefits conferred on the Pope and his kinsfolk he had received nothing but many vexatious public rebuffs (*rebuffi*) both in the congregations and consistories.

From all these reasonings I draw three conclusions: his great desire for the release and superiority of the Constable, who he told me had been his friend for more than 40 years, assuring me that a more prudent or a braver man did not exist in France: secondly, his regret for the supremacy of the house of Guise: thirdly, his dissatisfaction with the Pope and his kinsfolk, about which he expressed himself thus: When I had done nothing whatever for the Pope, he conferred on me those many favours which are known to you, they being so great and continual that one day I said to him, "Holy Father! the many demonstrations made by your Holiness towards my person open the road for my ruin; as amongst the others, your nephews must be angels to tolerate this my extreme authority with you, and there being no angels in these times, they as men will seek to deprive me of it."

Rome, 8th December 1557.

[*Italian.*]

Dec. 11. Original Letter Book, Venetian Archives.

1101. BERNARDO NAVAGERO, Venetian Ambassador in Rome, to the DOGE and SENATE.

Letters dated Brussels the 20th ult. announce the death of Ferrante Gonzaga, and that the Duke of Savoy had entered France intending to fight a pitched battle unless the French refuse it. These same letters bring the commission for the expedition of the archbishopric of Toledo for friar Bartolomeo Miranda, nominated by King Philip, with 10,000 crowns pension for the Cardinal of Trent, 3,000 for the Cardinal of Augsburg, and some others to certain Spaniards, and 16,000 crowns in blank, *pro personis nominandis*. For this cause Cardinal Pacheco had a long audience of the Pope on Monday, so that for the morrow his Holiness had a congregation general of all the Cardinals intimated, in which he said that having made peace with King Philip (*che sendosi ella pacificata col Re Filippo*), for which purpose he was sending legates to his Majesty and to the most Christian King, he had determined to comply with the wishes of those Princes as far as he could, that they might remain satisfied with him; wherefore he gave the Cardinals the trouble of proposing the church of Toledo in the form desired, that it might then be expedited at the next consistory, which was held yesterday, the see of Toledo being then conferred accordingly; but when the Cardinal Dean de Bellai wished to expedite (*espedir*) some churches in France, the Pope gave him a rebuff (*un rebuffo*), telling him that he wished to expedite the churches in a different form to the one in which he

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had proposed them, which was a fraud, so his Holiness forbad their expedition. *These too great favours done to the Imperialists by the Pope, and his disfavour* (disfavori) *to the French, do not please those who desire the welfare of the See Apostolic, for the French ambassador has been thrice sent away by his Holiness without audience, after remaining for four and five hours in the ante-chamber; which time the Pope consumed in giving audience to Imperial Cardinals.*

The last letters from the Duke of Alva are dated Massa, 28th ultimo.

Rome, 11th December 1557.

[*Italian.*]

Dec. 11. Original Letter Book, Venetian Archives. (2nd letter.)

1102. From the SAME to the SAME.

The French ambassador told my secretary this morning, that having at length had audience of the Pope, his Holiness hoped that the most Christian King and the King Catholic would not have so much care for their own interests, as not to have greater thought for the universal benefit of Christendom; to which he replied: "Holy Father, your Holiness knows that before the present war my King had a truce which was honourable and advantageous; *that he entered on the war, not from being ambitious of States, but induced and persuaded by him whom you know* (*ma indutto et persuaso da chi ella sa*);* but, whenever he can, on fair terms, his most Christian Majesty will accept the peace; which good will on his part he let your Holiness know several times by letters and by his ambassadors. The like has been done, I believe, by King Philip, it not being suitable that his Majesty, who professes to be so catholic and respectful a son of this Holy See, should conceal from your Holiness his mind about the peace."

To this the ambassador says that the Pope shrugged-up his shoulders, and then said: "Lord Ambassador, we will tell you the truth, that from King Philip we have nothing, neither good nor evil;" and the ambassador adds that the Pope uttered these words evidently with some resentment. The ambassador also told me that on taking leave of the Duke of Paliano he inquired whether the gentleman who had been despatched had been sent about the duchy of Bari. He answered in the negative, swearing that he told him the truth as a gentleman, and by the Order round his neck, showing him the St. Michael; *which the ambassador, being unable to do otherwise, pretended to believe. Respecting the son and nephew of Paliano, the ambassador said, "I believe that after all, the King will hold these relics* (reliquie) *in small account," which he uttered in a way implying that for the present he would not let them come.*

Ascanio da Nepi, who came hither from Cardinal Farnese, has been well greeted by the Caraffa family (*da questi signori*), the Pope likewise speaking him very fair, and both from his Holiness and from the Duke of Paliano he comprehended that they very greatly desired to make the matrimonial alliance (*il parentado*) with Duke Ottavio, to which the Farneses assent provided it have

* Cardinal Carlo Caraffa?

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the consent of King Philip, on obtaining whose leave they will then come to details; but from a person who can know it, I understand that the proceedings here are not to the satisfaction of the Farneses, but quite contrary to their wishes, as having to await King Philip's license for this relationship,* his Holiness has not yet done anything to gratify his Majesty; nor has any demonstration of good will been made towards Duke Ottavio, for indeed they sent cavalry to the confines of his duchy of Castro, to prevent the exportation of grain, contrary to the agreement made lately, that Castro was to supply Rome with 5,000 *rubij* of grain, and that the rest might be removed from the territory of Castro as usual, and according to its ancient privileges; whilst with regard to Madame [Margaret] of Austria, who in case of this marriage might do so much, both as the youth's mother, and as King Philip's sister, they had sentence passed here against her, in favour of the Queen of France, as written by me;† and by the revocation of the *regressi* Cardinal Farnese loses an annual revenue of many thousands of crowns, having had *regressi* on at least 12 churches, not one of which yielded less than 2,000 crowns at least.

Rome, 11th December 1557.

[*Italian.*]

Dec. 11. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

1103. GIOVANNI MICHIEL, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

Everybody still continues in suspense about the advance of M. de Guise, as it continues to be said that he will proceed on some expedition, having already commenced making the army march towards Normandy, so that it is now distant some eight leagues from Compiegne. At the general review made before the march commenced, the 160 *ensigns were reduced to* 110, *amounting to about* 20,000 *infantry, the companies having fewer men than due; so beyond that amount the stipend had been embezzled. It is also heard, that to cause less suspicion M. de Nevers with* 10,000 *infantry had marched in another direction towards Picardy. This division, having been made purposely, strengthens the opinion of those in a position to know it, that the expedition has in view the invasion of Calais* (che si miri alla invasione di Cales), *Marshal Strozzi having lately reconnoitred the place, nor did he find the undertaking difficult; and I have been told on good authority, that there are some engineers staying in Paris, of those most in repute, occupied in making preparations and mustering men, that they may be ready to march the moment they are called; but these designs are known only to a very few persons. As their result will shortly relieve everybody from doubt and expectation, I shall then be able to give a sure account of them to your Serenity, omitting conjectures*

* The relationship was to be effected by the marriage of the daughter of the Duke of Paliano to the Prince of Parma.

† See before date 27th November, but by a subsequent despatch to the Council of Ten, date 19th February 1558, it appears that the Pope reversed the sentence; so this record of a lawsuit between two celebrated female potentates becomes a curious illustration of Paul IV.'s nepotism, even where legal justice was concerned.

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and conversations which are made variously, according to the variety of men and their dependencies.

The Baron de la Garde, alias Polino,* was sent back to Marseilles, to execute what was determined about the galleys, which will be under the governorship-general of the Grand Prior of France; they will be reduced from 44, their number hitherto, to 20, to get rid of all the most useless and inefficient hands; and as to the hulls those no longer seaworthy will be put out of commission, and these 20 be perfected (*riducendosi queste* 20 *alla sua perfetione*). But as the costs for the whole 44 will not be reduced, the King has determined that the entire surplus is to be expended daily in renewing other hulls; choosing that with these same assignments there be built in the port of Marseilles an arsenal for the custody of these 20 galleys, which will be manned by slaves, but for the future, the crews required for the others are to be free men, commanded by the King's own subjects of the maritime provinces; so that in the course of four or five years they purpose getting together 40 or 50 additional hulls, which the King does not choose either to be manned or to put to sea, except in times of need, for merely five or six months, laying them up in the winter; and it is calculated that the cost of maintaining them will not exceed what has been paid hitherto.

The courier from Rome who was expected by the Pope's great-nephews has arrived, with the decision that they are either to be sent back or to remain here at the King's option.

Poissy, 11th December 1557.

[*Italian, partly in cipher; the portion in italics deciphered by Signor Luigi Pasini.*]

Dec. 12. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

1104. MICHIEL SURIAN, Venetian Ambassador with King Philip, to the DOGE and SENATE.

His Majesty will have no farther thought for the frontier garrisons, as the States have undertaken to pay the soldiers.

Cardinal Caraffa is to be at Louvain to-morrow, and in two days will make his entry into this city with the usual ceremonies. The King has sent the Prince of Sulmona to meet him with 100 gentlemen, almost all Italians, clad in one livery, and on the day of the entry his Majesty will go as far as the city gate, with the Cardinal of Trent, and all the prelates of the Court, to meet him.

Should Cardinal Caraffa come for the sake of peace, he will be very welcome, as nothing can be more wished for than that, although on other accounts his right reverend Lordship is odious and suspected (suspetta et odiosa). *The ambassador from Florence, talking with me and some other persons, said that the Cardinal would not come, and that he was gone to the Switzers; but now that he sees him so near, he says that he is not coming to make peace, and that no trust can be placed in him about it. A person of great authority told me, that so far as can be judged from his proceedings*

* In the late Sir William Hackett's Index to Foreign Calendar, "Mary," there are fuller particulars of this French naval commander, thus "Escalin, Antoine, Baron de la Garde. (Capitaine Paulin.)"

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the Duke of Florence would not wish King Philip to be at peace, but always in distress, to avert his Majesty's thoughts from giving him disturbance, as he certainly would do, were he not occupied with the French war. To say the truth, the Duke of Florence is in such bad odour here, that even those personages who favoured him about the affairs of Sienna, remain dissatisfied with his Excellency, and show themselves opposed to him.

A gentleman from the Duke of Parma arrived here lately, to give the King account of events there, and to hear his Majesty's will about carrying on the war [against the Duke of Ferrara]. He has been sent back with the following message, that the paymaster Portiglia will have told him that the King does not choose the war to be waged in that fashion (*a quel modo*), and that if not conducted according to the arrangement (*come si disse*) he will have recourse to some other expedient. From what I can elicit *his Majesty persists in treating the agreement in conformity with the order given to the Duke of Alva; though this has not been communicated to me by the King, nor by any of his councillors, but it reached me through the same channels as other secret matters.*

Brussels, 12th December 1557.

[*Italian, partly in cipher; the portions in italics deciphered by Signor Luigi Pasini.*]

Dec. 13.

MS. St. Mark's Library, Cod. XXIV., Cl. x., p. 188 recto.

1105. CARDINAL POLE to KING PHILIP.

In order not to omit the performance of any office towards his Holiness, it has seemed fit to me to send to visit the right reverend Legate through my Auditor, who will present this letter and pay respect in my name to your Majesty, whom I beseech to deign to hear what he will tell you on my behalf.

May it please our Lord God to grant that each day may more and more confirm the most perfect union between your Majesty and the Pope's Holiness, for the benefit and quiet of Christendom, as your Majesty, I am certain, has of your piety always desired and desires; and that with regard to the peace, you will on every occasion demonstrate your excellent will and disposition, and thus may the divine goodness ever favour all your good and pious purposes and grant you all prosperity for His service. To the last letter of the 17th ult., which your Majesty was pleased to write to me in reply to two of mine, there is no need for me to say anything further save to kiss your hand. By the grace of God the most Serene Queen is well, which, in truth, is a manifestation of Divine favour in the midst of so many incessant and extraordinary troubles, and with her usual longing for your Majesty's presence, she hopes to remove the impediments; in like manner as she knows that your Majesty is intent on speedily consoling her which may the Lord God grant, and ever favour your Majesty, whose hands I humbly kiss.

London, 13th December 1557.

[*Italian.*]

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Dec. [13.]* **1106.** CARDINAL POLE to CARDINAL [CARLO] CARAFFA, Papal Legate accredited to King Philip.

MS. St. Mark's Library, Cod. XXIV., Cl. x., p. 188 verso.

Having heard of your coming to the Court of our King, I have thought it my duty to visit and pay my respects to you, as I now do, through the bearer of this present letter, my [Auditor], Gio. Francesco Stella, congratulating you also heartily on the agreement which, through your mediation, the Holiness of our Lord has made with his Majesty, from which not only Italy, but the whole of Christendom, must have derived extreme satisfaction, as witnessed here amongst all good men. In like manner may it please God to grant us the grace of pacifying these two great Princes, and giving speedily to his Holiness this entire satisfaction, and to your Lordship that of having been the instrument of so great and necessary a blessing; nor do I doubt your finding in his Majesty that readiness and good disposition which I have always perceived in him. I hope that his Holiness, your Lordship, and your illustrious family, will daily more and more convince yourselves of the benign nature and great goodwill of this good Prince, and that his Holiness will find in him every demonstration of due filial observance, and continue to show him more and more every hour his paternal affection and reciprocal consolation, for the universal benefit of the Church and of all Christendom.

With regard to the Legation having through the Auditor whom I sent to Rome complied with what I deemed it my duty to let his Holiness know, I await his orders, praying our Lord God to convert everything to his glory and to the advantage of his Church; and humbly kissing your most illustrious and right reverend Lordship's hand, I recommend myself to your good favour, referring myself for the rest to the bearer, and thanking you greatly for your courtesy and kindness (*amorevolezza*) evinced by you towards me on every occasion, as I have always seen, and as I have heard through the letters of my friends in Rome.

London, [13th ?] December 1557.

[*Italian.*]

Dec. 14. **1107.** CARDINAL POLE to CARDINAL [CARLO] CARAFFA.

MS. St. Mark's Library, Cod. XXIV., Cl. x., p. 189 recto.

I greatly thank your Lordship for the goodwill always shown me, and for the loving and courteous offers made to my Auditor, whom I sent lately to Rome to do what he could to bring the affair of this Legation to some good end. Having already through the said Auditor given full account of everything to our Lord and to your Lordship, that his Holiness might understand the pure truth, both about what took place concerning the past affairs here, and the state in which they now stand, as also how his messenger was stopped without my knowledge, and what I consequently hoped in this matter, not having failed to perform my duty in every respect, I awaited, and am still awaiting—always with the most entire obedience—what his Holiness shall be pleased to determine

* The day of the month is in blank, but this letter probably accompained the following one, and I therefore date it the 13th. The one appears to me an official letter, the other a private one.

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and ordain. I will nevertheless not omit telling your Lordship again what great detriment is incurred through the interruption of this legatine office, which is so necessary, and how still more the authority of the See Apostolic is impaired, giving the adversaries and enemies of the Church great cause to rejoice, and causing no less sorrow to those who are good and pious, from seeing the affairs of the religion—which by the grace of God were well advanced in many ways—hindered in their auspicious progress solely for want of this legation, and of the exercise, therefore, of the Apostolic authority in this kingdom, not without many inconveniences and perils, as his Holiness of his prudence may well imagine, to the great prejudice of spiritual matters, most especially at these beginnings of the return [to the Roman Catholic faith?], thus causing the Queen such extreme sorrow, as the Pope may have heard. All persons of piety anticipate that his Holiness — from respect for her Majesty's great merits with the See Apostolic, and with himself, he having reaped the first fruit of the honour of this return, of which the Queen may be said to have been the mother*—will in this and every other matter be always disposed and ready to console and never to afflict her. For myself individually, I will repeat to your Lordship what I have already said and caused to be said to his Holiness and to yourself, that by depriving me of this legation nothing is taken from me but toil and expense, so that in a worldly sense (*humanamente*) I should have no cause to complain of it were I merely to consider my own advantage; whilst with regard to honour, I have no need, thank God, to wish for that. But to see that the testimony of such a Queen and of such a King, and of all those chief personages who are able to perceive what is for the benefit of the Church in this kingdom, besides the testimony of what God vouchsafed to do there by means of, or rather *for*, the Catholic faith, and for the honour and service of that See Apostolic, and of his Holiness, is not sufficient to persuade him to be of opinion that this legation should remain vested in my person—on this matter your most illustrious Lordship may easily imagine whether I have very just cause for sorrow and resentment, and whether I shall be compelled to defend the favours which the Lord God of His goodness has granted me, not so much for the sake of my own honour as for the removal of any scandal, and to seek the salvation of this flock committed to my charge in virtue of the post I occupy, having no greater means for its safe custody and maintenance—so far as my own person is concerned—than the perpetual constancy of my faith. Should I thus be in any way compelled to resist his Holiness, were there no other example, that of St. Paul with St. Peter† will justify me sufficiently before God and man; and if in defending myself and my honour for the service of God, I could avoid the necessity for offending that person for whom—be God my witness—I have been, and always shall be, most ready to

* "Aspettandosi da tutti i pij, che, havendo sua beatitudine despetto (*sic*) [rispetto?] ai gran meriti che la (*sic*) [della] Maestà sua verso quella santa sede et verso lei, alla quale è toccato il primo frutto dell' honor di questa reduttione, della quale sua Maestà si può dir esser stata madre."

† *See* St. Paul's epistle to the Galatians, ii. 11.

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risk my life in any peril, it would relieve me from a very great displeasure, which in this case I could not but experience, though I shall always enjoy the consolation of never having failed to act towards his Holiness since he has occupied this supreme dignity as a faithful Legate, and whilst he was Cardinal as becoming a colleague, and in private life as a loving friend on every occasion. Should the Divine Providence have ordained that that person, for whom, in the first place, I, as a friend—as well known to his Holiness—when there was a question of making him Cardinal,* gave the greatest testimony of my love and affection that one friend could give in favour of another, and for whom subsequently during his Cardinalate I always evinced more reverence than for any other, and finally during whose pontificate, I, as Legate, have rendered my legation more fruitful than any other has ever proved to any Pontiff since many centuries, which may be said without arrogance, as it was entirely the work of God; I, for these causes, being entitled by every right to expect all honour and consolation from his Holiness, much more than from his predecessors, who always did me more honour than I ever required;—that he should so strenuously impede me from serving God and his Church, and seek to do me such great dishonour as never Cardinal nor Legate, however worthlessly he might have served, had ever received from any Pontiff, and whilst I did more for his honour than any of his nearest kinsfolk could have done had they been in my place;—should the Divine Providence, I say, have so willed it, I cannot but use those arms of justice and truth, and those forces (*et quei presidij*) which His Divine goodness has given me for my defence, *a dextris et a sinistris*, as that same Providence of God will in the end convert everything to His greater honour and service.

I have chosen thus freely to communicate my just sorrow to your most illustrious and right reverend Lordship, not only as to the Legate, but as to a person so near akin as you are to his Holiness, and consequently bound to be more zealous for his honour, though I can say with truth before God that in this respect I would not yield to any relation, however attached to his Holiness, to whose honour I am as anxious to contribute as to my own, nor unless from sheer necessity will I allow myself to do otherwise. For the rest, referring myself to your Lordship's prudence, and to what else will be told you in my name by the bearer, I humbly kiss your hands, recommending myself to your good grace.

London, 14th December 1557.

[*Italian.*]

Dec. 15. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

1108. GIOVANNI MICHIEL, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

Concerning the progress of the designs of M. de Guise, I have been very confidentially informed by a person of quality, that after

* Gianpietro Caraffa was created cardinal by Paul III., on the 22nd December 1536, on which same day Cardinal Pole also received the red hat. (*See* Cardella, vol. 4, p. 160 and following, and p. 188.) The regard entertained by Paul III. for Reginald Pole would render his opinion of Caraffa's merits of some weight in the Pope's mind, and possibly secured Caraffa's election.

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having sent on by water towards Normandy, to Pontoise, the German troops, in number 5,000, *giving them this convenience because many of them are sick, he had sent the rest towards Amiens and the neighbouring places, viz. Abbeville and Montreuil; they number* 4,000 *Switzers and from* 9,000 *to* 10,000 *Frenchmen, forming a total of from* 18,000 *to* 20,000 *infantry, divided into several corps. They will be followed by the Duke de Guise in person with the cavalry, which, including men-at-arms and light horse and the gentlemen who accompany him, may amount to* 4,000 *and at the fitting moment they are all to assemble in Amiens.*

The Marshal Strozzi preceded to make all necessary arrangements, the whole undertaking having not only been counselled with him (con lui), *but its execution being also left completely to his management.* The information previously communicated to me was conjectural, but it is now reasonably and positively ascertained that they purpose attempting to storm the fortress of Calais. It had been first reconnoitred by a French captain, but as he did not entirely convince them, they sent the said Marshal to revisit it, he having offered thus to do, for the greater service of his most Christian Majesty, at the utmost risk and peril to himself, as may be imagined. He succeeded prosperously on St. Martin's night* (11*th November*), *and although from the difficulties that he found there his opinion was that they should let be* (scorrere) *until a better season, the King nevertheless disapproved of any farther delay, and chose the attempt to be made now, whether successful or unsuccessful* (riesca ò non riesca), *and from what I hear from the same person, by the advice of the Cardinal of Lorraine himself, to whom the Duke de Guise referred the matter, both one and the other of them having no greater end and desire than to delay the negotiation of any agreement as long as they can, and consequently to impede the release of the Constable. They are therefore intent on this enterprise with all assiduity, the result of which occupies universal attention, especially that of the very few who are acquainted with its details, and who keep them very secret; so it is superfluous for me to remind your Serenity to follow their example.*

* This account of the attack on Calais being suggested by Strozzi, is confirmed by the Venetian historian Andrea Morosini, thus, "The author of this design was Pietro Strozzi, who did not deem the conquest difficult, provided they terrified the English garrison, which was not at all accustomed to military engagements, and in no esteem for valour." "L'autore di un tal disegno era Pietro Strozzi, il quale ne giudicava non difficile la conquista, quando col terror si assaltasse l'Inglese presidio niente assuefatto alle militari fazioni, e niente per valore considerabile." (Storia della Republica Veneziana del Senatore Andrea Morosini ora per la prima volta dal Latino idioma recata nell' Italiano. Tomo II. p. 300. In Venezia, 1782.)

Morosini's words in the original Latin are as follows: "Ejus consilii Petrus Strozzius auctor erat, qui, nullo militarium rerum usu, nullâ virtute præstantibus Britannis propugnatoribus, perterritis, eo potiri haud difficile fore suadebat." (Venetiis, apud Antonium Pinellum, cum privilegiis, MDCXXIII. c. 297 D.)

In John Highfield's contemporaneous account of the siege and loss of Calais, published by Lord Hardwicke, "State Papers," vol. 1, p. 119, there is the following remark made by him to the Duke of Savoy, "That the cause of the loss of the town was not only by the weakness of the castle, and lack of men, *but also I thought there was some treason, for, as I had heard, there were some escaped out of the town, and the Frenchmen told me that they had intelligence of all our estate within the town.*"

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The statement made by the Nuncio to the King about the return of the Pope's great nephews, was not such as represented by the Nuncio to my secretary, for it has been told me on good authority that he strongly insisted on their being released (*lasciati*), the Pope having promised this in the articles of agreement with the King Catholic, his Holiness choosing to remain neutral; and he said that were it not allowed to effect the agreement, King Philip would have just cause for resentment, and to be dissatisfied with his Holiness; and he has a right to be gratified in this matter, as for a long while these youths will not be in a state to render any service to his most Christian Majesty; assigning also as another reason that their return was necessary because the Pope was negotiating, and had perhaps determined to marry the Duke of Paliano's son to the daughter of the late Duchess of Camerino, the first wife of the Duke of Urbino. The Nuncio did not make his demand until yesterday, nor has he yet had a reply, *but the person who is charged to take them back told me that although the King will make a show of not wishing to detain them, yet from one impediment or another their departure will be delayed, at least until his most Christian Majesty knows what has been negotiated at Brussels by Cardinal Caraffa.*

Poissy, 15th December 1557.

[*Italian, partly in cipher; the portions in italics deciphered by Signor Luigi Pasini.*]

Dec. 17. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

1109. MICHIEL SURIAN, Venetian Ambassador with King Philip, to the DOGE and SENATE.

I went this morning by appointment to the Cardinal Legate Caraffa, who, making it appear that he was sent by the Pope for the purpose, as written by me yesterday, of persuading his Majesty to make peace with the King of France, made me a long discourse comprising the reasons to be assigned to that effect, as set forth in his "instruction," which he gave for my perusal. The document merely contains general offices* (officij generali), *demonstrating the Pope's great desire for the public quiet, and for the conservation* (et della conservatione) *of the religion. It speaks with great honour of both sovereigns, but at the close it rather reproaches the King of France with having so often broken the peaces and treaties made by him. The Cardinal discussed these topics with me for a long while; and then, passing to other particulars not included in his commission, said that considering the arguments in favour of these Princes making peace, necessity ought to compel them thus to do, so that neither one nor the other having money, nor the means for long continuance of war, peace might easily be hoped for; but he suspects that this King will hold to the point of honour, and that the other one will be inflamed by passion* (sarà infiammato dal sdegno), *so that this negotiation is difficult, but that he would not fail performing every possible office, and will remain here as long as he sees any hope of peace, nor think of returning until that hope vanishes. I rejoined commending the Pope and his*

* Letter not found.

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Lordship for their exertions in seeking the public tranquillity, which was so necessary for Christendom; and after telling me that he had commenced negotiating with the King yesterday, and that Don Ruy Gomez was to go to him to-day, and that he would communicate everything to me; he then said, that he had not yet spoken about his own family affairs (cose sue particolari), *and that they were situated thus, that not being agreed about the compensation for Paliano, your Serenity was to be judge concerning what is claimed by others who consider themselves wronged by the House of Caraffa; and his most illustrious Lordship wished the whole to be submitted to King Philip's council of justice.*

After this the Cardinal, conversing about the affairs of the day, did not seem much satisfied with the Duke of Florence, and said that his ambassador here had scarcely visited him (appena è stato a vederla). *Of the Duke of Parma* [*Ottavio Farnese*] *he speaks very honourably, and excuses his Excellency for not having carried on the war against Ferrara properly, because he has few troops, and never received money for their pay; and I have heard from a person of great authority, that it has been proposed to give to that Duke's son a niece of Cardinal Caraffa, for which purpose a secretary of his Excellency's has come hither to obtain the consent of King Philip, who has not yet replied, because he believes that in this way the Duke of Parma is trying to get his son away from Brussels.*

From the frontiers nothing is heard of any stir, nor is M. de Vaudemont seen to negotiate anything of importance.

Brussels, 17th December 1557.

[*Italian, partly in cipher; the portion in italics deciphered by Signor Luigi Pasini.*]

Dec. 18. Original Letter Book, Venetian Archives.

1110. BERNARDO NAVAGERO, Venetian Ambassador in Rome, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The Duke of Paliano, when telling my secretary the news from France, said that his son the "Marchesino," and Don Giovanni Pietro his nephew, are well; that the French talk of dismissing them on the first demand, which would be well; so he hoped that on the receipt of the Pope's last letter, they would be set at liberty. He also said that from the Court of King Philip he had advice that his Majesty was sending Don Diego de Azevedo to pay his respects to the Pope; that he had sent a Flemish personage whose name was not written, to meet his brother the Cardinal [Carlo Caraffa], and that great preparations were being made to receive him with much honour.

Rome, 18th December 1557.

[*Italian.*]

Dec. 19. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

1111. MICHIEL SURIAN, Venetian Ambassador with King Philip, to the DOGE and SENATE.

As the Legate Caraffa told me that he had commenced treating the peace with the King, I went to him yesterday, expressing your Serenity's constant wish for the public quiet, and the glory his Majesty would obtain by being the author of it. He listened to me

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very attentively, nor do I believe he lost one word of what I said, for in reply he made me a long discourse, purporting that he was really inclined towards peace, and that he would never have made war had he not been compelled to do so, repeating what he had so often said about the restless mind of the King of France, his too great cupidity, and his bad faith (et della poca fede di quello); *saying that the Lord God had favoured the cause of justice by giving these victories to his Majesty, who for his own part wished them all to farther the common weal, and that he desired nothing more earnestly than the pacification of Christendom, without which the religion could not be preserved, nor resistance be offered to the Infidels, whose forces had now been increased by discord amongst Christians; adding that all these evils originated with, and were fomented by, the King of France, who so repeatedly broke peace with the Emperor without any cause; doing the like lately by the truce, which he had stipulated under oath, and with so many solemnities; so King Philip did not believe that a lasting and secure peace could be made. In the course of my rejoinder, I having said that owing to the nature of the times, it was credible that his most Christian Majesty would be moved by reason of the common weal* (dalla ragione del ben pubblico); *King Philip replied, that mankind is wont to be moved by reason, but not the King of France; and continuing the conversation he said that as your Serenity had written to your ambassador in France to negotiate there, it would be well to await the result. From the whole course of this colloquy, I clearly understood that the King wished your Serenity to take this entire negotiation on yourself, as told me expressly by the Duke of Savoy and others; but I limit myself to general expressions, nor shall I do otherwise until I receive some fresh order; my belief being, that the want of supplies for waging war will take more effect in this business than the Legate's good offices or mine.*

Brussels, 19th December 1557.

[*Italian, partly in cipher; the portions in italics deciphered by Signor Luigi Pasini.*]

Dec. 19. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

1112. GIOVANNI MICHIEL, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

Yesterday the Duke de Nevers arrived at the court on his return from his march towards the enemy's country in the direction of Picardy, making it appear that he meant to attack Luxemburg, so that by this feint the Spaniards might withdraw their forces from elsewhere to garrison the fortresses in that province. This being done, he made it appear that he had changed his mind, and sent his troops by forced marches to join those of M. de Guise. This stratagem not only divided the enemy's forces, but removed them to a much greater distance, thus giving M. de Guise in the meanwhile convenience to effect his intention, with less doubt of its being discovered. By advices from the camp, it is now heard that the troops of M. de Nevers are in number 10,000, counting those of the Colonel Rincroft, a regiment of Switzers, and the rest F . . . . . (Frenchmen ?). They were to arrive at Compiegne on the 16th of this month, M. de Guise being still there, with part of the Switzers

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and the cavalry, awaiting solely this reinforcement to follow the others, who two days ago were at Montreuil, more than 18 leagues distance from Calais, and they were still marching accompanied by 600 blacksmith horse (*seicento cavalli ferraruoli*), so that when all united they will amount to 30,000 infantry. They suffer not a little from the hard weather, so that the cavalry, being unable to stand this cold in the open country, diminishes every day, from 40 to 50 foot soldiers dying daily, the supplies of charcoal and other conveniences brought to the camp by the King's order not sufficing; but neither from this nor from other impediments do they renounce the undertaking, but pursue it resolutely.

Although the Nuncio presses for a decision about the return of the Pope's great nephews, he is unable to obtain it, the Queen [Catherine de Medici] having already told him that the King would consider it a reproach (*vergogna*) were they not present at the espousals of the Dauphin and the Duke of Lorraine, so that they might at least give account of them to his Holiness, *and now this is one of the impediments and respects alleged for not allowing them to depart.*

Giordano Orsini sent hither his secretary to give account of affairs in Corsica, he having recovered all that had been occupied by the enemy, which gave the King so much pleasure that whereas previously he had intended to recall him, he will now have him supplied with whatever he requires, and although the Grand Prior of France has been appointed to Corsica with ten galleys, he is nevertheless to obey Orsini and to depend on him.

Poissy, 19th December 1557.

[*Italian, partly in cipher; the portions in italics deciphered by Signor Luigi Pasini.*]

Dec. 20.
Deliberazioni Senato (Secreta), v. 70, p. 132 tergo.

1113. MOTION made in the SENATE for a Letter to the Venetian Ambassador at Rome.

In your letters of the 8th and 11th instant, you mention having heard that the bulls conferring the coadjutorship of Brescia on the nephew of Cardinal Durante are being drawn up. We charge you to request the Pope to take into due consideration what we sent him word heretofore, about not admitting the nephew of Cardinal Durante by reason of the importance of that city, which is one of the principal fortresses and frontiers of our State. We hope his Holiness will not choose by the despatch of these bulls to cause us so important an anxiety as this would be. If you think it advantageous, state about this matter with the Cardinal of Alexandria [Fra Michiel Gislerio] or with other Cardinals there, dilating on the particulars heard by you at the Court of Rome concerning the nephew of Cardinal Durante.*

Ayes, 175; noes, 2; neutrals, 7.

[*Italian.*]

* Cardinal Durante died on the 24th December 1557. I am unable to detail any of the "particulars" which rendered his nephew ineligible to the see of Brescia. The Pope's aversion to the virtuous Luigi Priuli could not be overcome; his attachment to Cardinal Pole, and his residence in England, were unpardonable; but the Signory eventually succeeded in procuring the appointment of the Venetian nobleman, Domenico Bollani, to the Bishopric of Brescia, as the successor of Cardinal Durante.

1557.
Dec. 23.
Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

1114. MICHIEL SURIAN, Venetian Ambassador with King Philip, to the Doge and Senate.

For the continuation of the war during the coming year, these States have agreed to pay 60 ensigns of infantry and 8,000 horse, for six months, and the pay is according to the ancient custom of the country, viz., five crowns per month per horse, and two and half crowns per foot soldier; but as in times of such great scarcity, troops could not be had at so low a rate, the States will disburse the money for expenditure at the King's option, but with this condition, that it be spent solely on German and native soldiery; and each monthly payment will amount to 130,000 crowns, forming a total of 800,000 crowns for six months. They will also give 20 paid ships for defence against the French fleet in these seas. There is no other provision for the war.

Besides this the States consent to ransom all the royal revenues of these provinces in eight years, thus—they are to have the whole of the King's property in their hands during that period, allowing him 400,000 crowns annually, and on the expiration of the eight years, they will restore all his revenues to him free; and although this be a great bargain (*sia un gran partito*), the King nevertheless is not quite satisfied with it, as he wished to have the whole sum in ready money, or at least of the last four years; but to this the States will not consent, as they suspect that his Majesty being then in want, they would have to pay a fresh contribution, or to let him again mortgage the revenue.

This resolution is considered of great moment, as should the war continue, it will enable him to provide through other channels for his remaining need.

I have nothing more to tell about the peace, except that in reply to Cardinal Caraffa's exhortations the King told him he wished for peace in any way, provided it can be had lasting and secure, and that he would even sacrifice something of his own to obtain it, but that he was to keep this secret to himself, and to rest assured of this the King's will, although he were to see him evince punctiliousness, as it would merely be for the sake of obtaining a better result; and that on the arrival of advices from the Legate in France, which are expected hourly, or from your Serenity's ambassador with account of his negotiation with the King, he would be able to form a more grounded resolution about what is to be done; all which the Cardinal imparted to me in confidence. But whatever advice I may receive from my colleague I shall not proceed farther without a fresh order from your Serenity, to whom I have also to announce the news here, that although Sultan Soliman has promised, at the suit of the most Christian King, to send his fleet to sea, he nevertheless stipulates this condition, that he is not to make either peace or truce with King Philip, without his the Sultan's consent, and that of this he chooses to be assured; which causes a belief here that the King of France will not let it appear that he has a wish for peace.

Brussels, 23rd December 1557.

[*Italian, partly in cipher; the portion in italics deciphered by Signor Luigi Pasini.*]

1557.
Dec. 24.
Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

1115. MICHIEL SURIAN, Venetian Ambassador with King Philip, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The high personages here are of opinion that the stir made by the Switzers about not choosing any longer to serve the French in Piedmont proceeds from the offices performed by this side, for I am assured that the Duke of Savoy has done so much with some of those cantons that he has great hopes, and almost the certainty, of renewing the ancient league of his house with them for the conservation and defence of their common states. To effect this he sent into those parts lately the Count of Ciliano * with very ample authority to make an agreement with that nation, and if effected it will give these Lords (*questi Signori*) greater hope of alienating the Switzers from France entirely, and gaining them for Spain, as has long been projected.

I moreover understand that the Switzers are about to send ambassadors to both these Kings, to exhort them to make peace, or rather, in their barbarous fashion (*anzi più presto con li barbari modi loro*), to threaten them, for the Bishop of Terracina tells me that they will give it to be understood to one and the other that they shall attack whichever of them fails to accept fair terms. But for all this Switzers are still seen in the French service on these frontiers, and recent advices purport that the army is going towards St. Omer; so these ministers suspect some plot in that fortress, and have ordered the neighbouring militia to keep in readiness to march at the first command, though as yet nothing farther has taken place.

The Legate Caraffa has been several times with the King, and gains repute daily, and from what he himself and his attendants say, it seems that he has turned completely in favour of this side, and is intent on nothing but showing this by word and deed (*con l'animo et con li effetti*). When talking with his Majesty he throws all the blame of past affairs on his ministers, persuading the King by plausible arguments that the alliance with France was not voluntary but from necessity, as communicated by his Lordship to me this morning in a long discourse, which it would be superfluous to write, but the conclusion was that the affairs were proceeding very well; that the King showed himself most inclined to his Holiness (*inclinatissimo verso sua Santità*), and well disposed towards the peace, promising that his Lordship should leave his presence much satisfied. I do not yet hear that anything was said about particulars, *but from what was hinted to me by the Bishop of Terracina, the Cardinal seems to have in view the Duchy of Bari, lately vacant through the death of the Queen,*† *though there are many difficulties both on account of the King of Poland and for other reasons; but the ambassador from Florence suspects the Legate of aspiring to the affairs of Tuscany.*‡ Cardinal Caraffa also told me

* Query Chillon; the Castle of the Count de Chillon on the Lake of Geneva was in 1530 the prison of François *de Bonnivara*, who was confined there by Charles the Good, Duke of Savoy. (*See* note to Lord Byron's sonnet, entitled "The Prisoner of Chillon.")

† Bonna Sforza, Queen of Poland, had inherited the Duchy of Bari in right of her mother Isabella of Aragon, daughter of Alphonso, King of Naples, and widow of Francesco Sforza, Duke of Milan.

‡ Sienna? *See* Navagero's despatches from Rome.

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that the King does not choose him to treat his affairs with anyone but his Majesty, and that he will communicate everything to me from time to time, as I think he has done hitherto, very confidentially, but whatever I can learn of importance, either from his Lordship or from others, shall be written by me to your Serenity immediately.

M. de Vaudemont is still here; it is not heard that he is treating anything about peace, but rather about giving a wife to the Duke of Lorraine, for he has brought hither the portraits of that Duke and of his promised consort, the daughter of the most Christian King. He has endeavoured to obtain the release of his kinsman the Duke of Montpensier, who will pay 50,000 crowns to the Count de Mansfeldt, which is a very heavy ransom considering his property, which is said not to be worth so much.

The Rhinegrave* and the Marshal de St. André,† late prisoners of the Duke of Brunswick, are in the King's power (*sono stati condutti in poter di questa Maestà*), he having bought them of the Duke for 60,000 ducats.

Brussels, 24th December 1557.

[*Italian, partly in cipher; the portion in italics deciphered by Signor Luigi Pasini.*]

Dec. 25. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

1116. GIOVANNI MICHIEL, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

Since my last of the 19th, the army has continued its march in two divisions, the vanguard with a considerable body of cavalry being led by Marshal Strozzi, to whom by an unusual demonstration its command was given, he until now never having received any charge whatever in the many expeditions of armies in this kingdom, but always serving and busying himself (*et adoperarsi*) without any office.

He has now arrived in the enemy's territory, and is expected either to day or to-morrow to be under the appointed place, where he moreover would have been much sooner, had he not greatly to his distress been detained for several days by the Master-General of the Ordnance, M. d'Estrées, who would not give up the command to him without a written order from the Duke de Guise; so he fears lest this delay increase the difficulty of the undertaking, as the enemy will have had time to discover it, and in the meanwhile to make provision.

The army with M. de Guise took another route, keeping the upper road towards New Hesdin, not only for greater convenience as to quarters and victuals, but to deceive the enemy by indicating one place, and turning to another. They do not cease sending daily from Paris to the camp every sort of ammunition, and from day to day fresh cavalry from every part of the kingdom passes on as it arrives.

* John Philip, Count of Salm. *See* the late Sir William Hackett's Index to Foreign Calendar, "Mary."

† Jacques d'Albon. (*See* Index as above.)

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The Cardinal of Lorraine told the Nuncio what the King had determined about the departure of the Pope's great nephews, in conformity with what I wrote, making excuses about the bad weather, and expressing also a wish for them to be present at these espousals; waiting to see whether after this reply the Pope will repeat his demand with more earnestness, so that he may then satisfy him.

Poissy, 25th December 1557.

[*Italian.*]

Dec. 25. Original Letter Book, Venetian Archives.

1117. BERNARDO NAVAGERO, Venetian Ambassador in Rome, to the DOGE and SENATE.

On Thursday morning a courier arrived here from the Court of King Philip, with letters from his Majesty dated the 8th instant, to the Cardinals Pacheco and Santafiora [Guido Ascanio Sforza, Cardinal "Camerlengo,"] praying them to present an autograph letter from him to the Pope, apologizing for not having written before, or sent to his Holiness. The Cardinal "Camerlengo" showed my secretary what is written to the Pope, expressing in substance the King's great satisfaction at the peace with his Holiness, for the benefit of all Christendom, and for his own satisfaction; that he desired nothing else but to be able to revere and serve the Pope, and to be held for that good son of this Holy See which he is. He excuses himself by saying that the war, and his personal indisposition, were the cause of his not having written previously to his Holiness; and also because he had appointed his maggiordomo, who is also a member of his council, Don Diego de Azevedo, to come and present his Majesty's respects to him.

One Isabella de Luna, a famous Spanish courtezan, and a girl by name Pandora, who was being educated under her superintendence (*che si arlevava sotto la disciplina di costei*), were to have been arrested by the Pope's order, because Pandora's mother complained that her poor virgin daughter had been sold and brought to mischief (*et fatta mal capitar*) by that Isabella, but the two had already both fled from Rome, which made the Pope very angry with the Duke of Paliano, to whom he said that Cardinal Caraffa never failed to do at once whatever his Holiness commanded, but that he could not say so of him; *to which the Duke says he replied, that his brother said he had done many things which he Paliano had effected, but that he had the good fortune to be more credited* (al che dice il Duca haver risposto che suo fratello diceva haver fatto molte cose che erano state fatte da lui, ma che havea questa ventura di esser più creduto) *than the Cardinal;* that he would nevertheless do everything to capture these women. On that very day he made the Pope's postmaster and the Sheriff (*et il barisello*) mount on horseback, and sent them post haste to this effect; they returned on Wednesday with the aforesaid courtezans their prisoners, who were put into Castle St. Angelo, a place which is not usually assigned as a prison for any but persons of importance, and on that same day their deposition was taken by the Commissary-General

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and by Giovan Battista Montelli, the Duke of Paliano's "auditor." The arrest of these courtezans causes much comment; *for it is notorious that Cardinal Caraffa and Marquis Montebello had close intercourse* (stretta pratica) *with them; and the Duke of Paliano has been heard to say that he regrets having been compelled to execute this arrest* (a far questa essecutione), *because he would not wish the world to believe that he had done it for any design of his own* (per qualche suo rispetto).

The grant of audiences is more and more restricted daily, and although his Holiness appoints them, causing Cardinals and ambassadors to go for that purpose, detaining them for a long while, he does not let himself be seen, and has them dismissed; so the Florentine ambassador was heard to say that he is not surprised at the Pope's not giving audience to those who want anything from him as it is not given even to him, who has to speak to his Holiness about his own affairs and those of his nephews. Cardinal Vitelli, when speaking on this subject, said that neither the Duke of Paliano nor other members of the council can conclude any business with his Holiness, because when they go to him, he begins to talk, and having said out his say, he dismisses them.

Rome, 25th December 1557.

[*Italian.*]

Dec. 25. Original Letter Book, Venetian Archives.

1118. BERNARDO NAVAGERO, Venetian Ambassador at Rome, to the CHIEFS of the COUNCIL OF TEN.

A prelate my friend has given me to understand that Cardinal Caraffa had spoken with the Dukes of Florence and Parma about a league against the Duke of Ferrara, and that he is about to negotiate it with the King Catholic, dividing the said Duke's state between them; and they are discussing the mode of waging the war, and of besieging Ferrara, in the direction of Venice, cutting the dikes on the Po (tagliando arzeri del Po); *but I can indeed assert that these close negotiations of Cardinal Caraffa with the Duke of Florence and his Excellency's ambassador here caused suspicion to many persons; the Ferrarese ambassador having said that he anticipates extreme mischief, and has advised his Duke about it. Moreover Cardinal Carpi, who of late was not in favour with the Pope, is now caressed by him, and during the last few days his Holiness has held three long conferences with him, praising him both in public and private, having had him told by Cardinal Saraceno to attend to his health, that he may live for the benefit of this See. The Cardinal of Carpi told the Florentine ambassador that his Holiness has promised him every assistance for the affairs of Carpi, and it was said that Cardinal Caraffa will urge King Philip to make over to him his Majesty's credit of some* 200,000 *crowns with the Apostolic Chamber, on account of the war of Parma,* as compensation for Camerino, and give the credit to the Duke of Paliano, that he may marry his son the young Marquis to the eldest daughter of the Duke of Urbino, Donna Virginia, who has a considerable credit due to her from Camerino*

* In the time of Pope Paul III.?

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in right of her late mother the daughter of [Gio. Maria]. Varano, the last Duke of that state, and thus establish the Caraffa family as much as possible.† My secretary having adroitly dropped a hint about this to Cardinal Carpi, his right reverend Lordship said that the Pope would never have lavished so many caresses upon him on account of Camerino, as he might rely on never having his vote in that matter, nor in any other that treated of alienating even one single battlement of the Church, knowing as he does that the Pontiffs have to be the administrators of this state and not its alienators; but that his Holiness might have some other design, and that he had discovered in these Caraffas* (in questi Signori) *but little good will towards the Duke of Ferrara; adding, "I do not willingly speak about that Duke's affairs, as I might be thought impassioned,‡ but to the ambassador and to you, in whom I can trust as in myself, I say that the Duke of Ferrara might come to harm* (potria farla male), *for from what is heard King Philip evinces great anger towards him, and were his Majesty to give the investiture of Modena and Reggio to the Church, either this Pope or another might recover those cities. I do not know anything with foundation, but speak thus as of myself with regard to what might happen." Then on another occasion Cardinal Carpi said to my secretary that what with his own and that of others, the King Catholic would satisfy the Caraffa family; and some days previously his right reverend Lordship laboured to demonstrate that there was no occasion to fear lest the war of Ferrara should make King Philip greater, because he did not desire anything of that state for himself, but to divide what was taken amongst the Italian Princes; the Cardinal saying, "The Signory likewise would take a little of Ferrara, as it would secure the Polesine for them;" to which the secretary replied that your Serenity had no other wish than to see Italy at rest, and that all should enjoy their own, and that for so great a blessing as peace, you had not failed, and never would. The Cardinal said it was impossible not to commend the good-will and prudence of your government; but that opportunities should not be lost. I have also to add, concerning King Philip's letter, the "Camerlengo" [Guido Ascanio Sforza] said to my secretary, that the Pope, on seeing King Philip's letter, said that if his Majesty assisted him in the matter of religion, he would then do whatever he could ask of him; that his Holiness would show himself more neutral than ever; because, if in the affairs of the religion the King of France failed subsequently to do his duty, the Pope*

* *See* Frizzi, iv. 281

† *See* about the Varano family in Dennistoun's Dukes of Urbino, vol. 3, p. 59 to p. 94. At p. 93, it is seen that Julia, Duchess of Urbino, died on the 17th February 1547, and at p. 94, mention is made of her having left an only daughter, Virginia, who according to Chiusole's Genealogies (p. 592), married first Federigo Borromeo, Count of Arona, and secondly Ferdinando Orsini, Count of Gravina.

‡ Rodolfo Pio was one of the most renowned statists of his time, and in the Vatican Library there is preserved his "*Discorso a Carlo V. sul modo di dominare.*" Cardinal Carpi's "*passion*" against the Duke of Ferrara was probably caused by the seizure of Carpi in 1527. (*See* Gnicciardini, vol 4, p. 218.) Giovio wrote that Alfonso of Este, Duke of Ferrara, urged the Constable to besiege Rome, and gave him money for that purpose, for the sake of getting Carpi. (*See* Guicciardini, vol. 4, p. 218, footnote. Edition, Friburgo, 1776.)

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might have greater right to chastise him (castigarlo); *nor could he refrain from demonstrating dissatisfaction with the French, saying that he had infinite patience in tolerating their iniquities, and the devastation perpetrated by them in Romagna and the March of Ancona, thus causing the famine of Rome, as had not those provinces suffered, there would have been no scarcity of grain. Cardinal Sforza added that as to the ill will of the Caraffas, towards the Duke of Ferrara and all the others* (et di tutti li altri) *it surpassed exaggeration, because disturbances are suited to those who have nothing to lose, though he was of opinion that King Philip, who is well disposed, being also counselled by his ministers in Flanders, and his negotiators here, to do what is most for his advantage, viz., to adjust matters with the Italian Princes, that he may employ all his forces for the recovery of Piedmont, and make much important progress in those parts, to the detriment of the French, will always be more intent on quieting Italy by negotiations than on coercing her with his armies; an opinion which Cardinal Sforza said was apparently shared by the Dukes of Florence and Parma, who reckon more on establishing themselves through peace than by war.*

Rome, 25th December 1557.

[*Italian, in cipher throughout.*]

Dec. 30. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

1119. MICHIEL SURIAN, Venetian Ambassador with King Philip, to the DOGE and SENATE.

Since my last, owing to the Christmas holidays and in expectation, of letters from France, the Legate's negotiations have been suspended. His Lordship tells me that they cannot be long delayed, and that should he thus learn that the most Christian King is disposed towards the peace, he hopes to propose fair terms for both sides, though I could not learn from him what they are, as he will not disclose them until sure of the French King's mind.

The negotiation of the Legate's other affairs will commence shortly, King Philip having placed his matters in the hands of the Bishop of Arras and of Don Ruy Gomez. One concerns the regulation of the nationality of Spain (*le naturalità de Spagna*), which is an edict issued heretofore by the Emperor, forbidding any but a native to have a benefice in those realms, which seems to be contrary to the ecclesiastical liberty. Another concerns the "regulation of the monarchy of Sicily," an ancient statute so called, whereby lay magistrates in that kingdom have free power over the ecclesiastics there. The third makes provision that the processes drawn up in Sicily against heretics be sent to the tribunal of Rome, whither the Pope apparently intends every case of heresy throughout Christendom to devolve (*al quale pare, che sua Santità intenda, che sia devoluta tutta questa causa della heresia, da tutta la Christianità*). The Legate told me that these and other similar things will be treated forthwith; and the private affairs of his Lordship and of his family, which matter most in this negotiation, have (he tells me) not yet been discussed at all, and that he is to treat them with the King himself, who has promised to make him depart content. *But the Count de Feria, although he confirmed the King's intention of satisfying*

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the Legate on his departure, added that his Majesty nevertheless will not abandon those who have served him, wishing them also to be contented. Nor did the Count finish his discourse without giving it clearly to be understood that the King and all his councillors place little trust in Cardinal Caraffa, though his Majesty will always treat with him sincerely and truthfully. Many things are said about the particulars by the vulgar, but being all without sure foundation, I can as yet assert nothing certain.

The French are not known to have made any fresh stir.

Brussels, 30th December 1557.

[*Italian, partly in cipher; the portion in italics deciphered by Signor Luigi Pasini.*]

Dec. 31. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

1120. MICHIEL SURIAN, Venetian Ambassador with King Philip, to the DOGE and SENATE.

Having been to visit the Legate, I found him much distressed, and from what he told me the cause of his trouble was advice received by him that the Pope has revealed all his thoughts to the Duke of Alva, communicating to him all he has to treat. He complained greatly to me, saying that this fact has deprived him of the means of conducting the business with repute, because, these Lords knowing beforehand what he has to treat, he cannot take advantage in anything (non può vantaggiarsi in niente). *This I add to the accompanying packet that your Serenity may know whatever intelligence I obtain.*

Brussels, 31st December 1557.

[*Italian, partly in cipher; the portion in italics deciphered by Signor Luigi Pasini.*]

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Jan. 1. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

1121. GIOVANNI MICHIEL, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

Marshal Strozzi has marched with the vanguard towards Gravelines, to prevent any assistance from being given thence to Calais, and M. de Guise was following with the main body of the army, having been detained at Amiens because the Switzers, being creditors for many months' pay, would not go farther until they received it; so it was necessary to send them from hence an amount sufficient for at least two months' pay, with which they seemed pacified, and continued their march. It is now said publicly that they are within the Calais pale, off which place it is also asserted that a great number of vessels have arrived, sent from Britanny and Normandy, not only for the conveyance of artillery, ammunition, and many sorts of wooden engines, &c. required for such an undertaking, but also to anticipate the English, so that they may be prevented from putting in succour; and although many persons say his Majesty has had news of a certain number of troops having entered by way of

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Flanders for the greater defence of the place, before Marshal Strozzi arrived there, here, nevertheless, the great hope of success continues.

The King having arrived here, the chief business of his coming will be commenced, viz., to propose to the delegates from the cities of the kingdom the pecuniary subsidy for which they were convoked by him for the present need. It is already said that the Parisians for their share will contribute 300,000 gold crowns, in which case it is supposed that from the other cities he will receive proportionally little less than two millions of gold. For the moment nothing is said about the espousals of the Dauphin and the Duke of Lorraine, they being deferred for the sake of making holiday with greater rejoicing for some sudden success.

The Legate Triultio is to make his public entry to-morrow, his right reverend lordship remaining in the meanwhile incognito., although he receives visits. Yesterday, by the King's order, the Cardinal of Lorraine went to him, and to-day I did the like, paying and receiving the usual compliments.

Concerning the progress of the army the Legate told me that although the chief intention of M. de Guise and Marshal Strozzi was to take Calais, yet if unsuccessful they would not fail to attempt some other of the Imperial places thereabouts, as they knew them to be not very well provided, so that if unable to do more, they might harass the enemy and make them incur constant expense.

Besides the reasons assigned to the Nuncio by the Cardinal of Lorraine (as mentioned in my last) for not allowing these great-nephews of the Pope to depart, I have heard on good authority that on the day when the Nuncio despatched the courier, the Cardinal of Lorraine sent him a note with these words, "By order of his most Christian Majesty I make known to your Lordship that he is determined that the nephews of his Holiness shall not depart at present, until he hears the resolve now coming from Cardinal Caraffa, with which the Pope is very well acquainted. On hearing it the King will be pacified" (se ne acqueterà). *I am told that after they heard here of the concession of the* 200,000 *crowns made by King Philip to the Duke of Paliano, the anger against all his Holiness' nephews, and the suspicion of them, increased and increases hourly, and principally against Cardinal Caraffa, so that not only will no thought be had to do anything for their gratification, but with the slightest opportunity the reverse will be done to them.*

Paris, 1st January 1558.

[*Italian, partly in cipher; the portion in italics deciphered by Signor Luigi Pasini.*]

Jan. 1. Original Letter Book, Venetian Archives.

1122. BERNARDO NAVAGERO, Venetian Ambassador in Rome, to the DOGE and SENATE.

Cardinal Caraffa writes from Brussels that he had sent his brother, the Marquis (Montebello), to the King, who was well received: that on the 15th ultimo he himself hastened (*si spinse innanzi*) to the palace of the Prince of Orange to avoid a ceremonious meeting, but scarcely had he got there when the Duke of Savoy arrived, apologising if he had been late. The Cardinal then robed himself pontifically (*si*

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messe in Pontifical) for the entry, and proceeded to Brussels, where he found the King at the gate, accompanied by the Cardinal of Trent; his Majesty went out to meet him a few paces beyond the city, and having made him pass under a canopy together with his Majesty they went to the church, the King returning to his palace, and the Cardinal remaining to perform the ceremony, and to give the benediction to the people as usual. On the morrow he went to audience, and the King met him at the palace gate below (*sopra la porta da basso del palazzo*); he was heard graciously, and received a humble and courteous reply (*humil et cortese risposta*).

Next day Don Ruy Gomez dined with the Legate, and they remained a long while together. The Duke (of Paliano) has said to me, "I have received a letter from Ruy Gomez, full of sweetness (*tutta piena di dolcezza*), in which he writes that he had never met with a man who was '*mas entre ne los corazones de todos*' than my brother the Cardinal;" the Duke remarking, "See what a fine form of speech this is, to gain the hearts of all men!"

Today, after mass, the ceremony of presenting the hackney and the tribute money for the kingdom of Naples, was performed by the ambassadors of England* and of Florence, by many prelates, and by a great number of horsemen as usual. The Attorney-General (*il Fiscal*) uttered the customary words "*sine præiuditio cameræ apostolicæ.*" The Pope said, "*Acceptamus: in reliquis vero remittimus nos ad ea quæ mandavimus dilectissimo filio nostro Carolo Cardinali Caraffæ, legato apud Majestatem illam Catholicam.*"

I have seen the Cardinal Dean [de Bellai] about the peace, and the release of the Constable. He answered that the Constable by nature, and from his time of life, was inclined towards peace, which could not be said of the Duke de Guise, as he was young, and this was the first time that he had had the armies (*le arme*) of France in his hands; besides which, by the war, he has the greatness he desires, whereas through the peace he would perhaps return to his former state (*alli suoi primi termini*); and that the King, having lost some of his repute, will think of nothing but its recovery, which cannot be effected without war. For these reasons the Cardinal Dean had doubts of the peace, and thought that owing to the King's generous nature he will choose to indemnify himself in part for the loss incurred; and even should he succeed, with the hope of greater progress his Majesty might tempt fortune further.

Amongst the Cardinals and ambassadors general discontent prevails owing to the impossibility of obtaining audience of his Holiness. During the last fortnight the ambassador from Ferrara has been unable to present a letter of credence from his Duke. The one from Florence, who has to speak about his Holiness' affairs, cannot see him. The French ambassador told my secretary that he asks for audience, and though he has it not, it suffices him to be able to write to the King that he has been diligent. Those from England and Portugal remain asking it for months unsuccessfully.

* In Foreign Calendar, "Mary," from 17th December 1557, to 22nd January 1558, there are no letters from Sir Edward Carne, so his share in this ceremony was omitted.

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I say nothing on this subject, except that the Cardinal of Naples* is his Holiness' beloved son, and may be called his right eye (*è il figliol diletto di sua Santità et si pò dir l'occhio suo destro*), and I have assuredly cause to speak well of him, his Lordship not having failed to do me all such favours as he could.

Rome, 1st January 1558.

[*Italian.*]

Jan. 3. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

1123. MICHIEL SURIAN, Venetian Ambassador with King Philip, to the DOGE and SENATE.

There are letters of the 1st *instant from Gravelines, a town at the sea-side belonging to King Philip, distant three short leagues from Calais, informing him that the French, after victualling Ardres, are now under Calais, and intend to attack the said place of Gravelines, with* 60 *ensigns of foot,* 4,000 *horse, and* 30 *pieces of artillery. Immediately on receiving this advice the Spaniard Don Bernardino de Aiala was sent thither with* 300 *Spanish infantry; and Don Luis de Caravajal has left for Zealand to go in that direction with the fleet, it seeming that the French have some ships in those seas* (in quelli mari). *Besides this, Count d'Egmont has been commanded to march thither with his force, amounting to* 1,200 *Flemish militia cavalry* (cavalli del paese), *which are not generally considered very good troops. Then yesterday evening, these lords sat a long while in Council, and to-day had proclamations made throughout this city for as large a levy of troops as possible, a very evident proof that this matter concerns them greatly, and not without reason, Gravelines being a very important place, and the real barrier* (frontiera real) *of Flanders, both against the French and the English, being three leagues from Ardres, and three from Calais. The town is large, but thinly inhabited* (mal habitata) *and not strong, for it has no flanks, but high walls, and no platform, being built in the ancient fashion. It is true it has a newly built castle, with four bulwarks and four curtains, and a good moat; and although there are many objections to that form, it nevertheless externally, seems very strong, but the fortress is small* (ma è picciola piazza). *I have never seen it within, but I hear that the earth-works are not completed, as would be requisite; and the grievous error of not finishing in time, a thing so necessary in fortresses, may be known by this example, as on the sudden, there is no way of remedying that neglect* (disordine). *Such is the condition of this fortress, which, were it not assisted by its site, would be in very great danger; I say by its site, because in certain places it can be inundated; nor can an army encamp there very easily, neither can artillery be conveyed thither, most especially at this season of mid-winter, and this is the chief hope of the Spaniards; but should the French occupy the town, and from thence*

* Alfonso Caraffa, son of Marquis Montebello, and great-nephew of Paul IV, who made him Cardinal on the 15th March 1557, as already recorded under that date. On the disgrace of his father and uncles, in January 1559, he became his great-uncle's prime minister. Alfonso Caraffa was born in 1540. (*See* Cardella, vol. 4, p. 365.)

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commence battering the castle, they fear there would be no remedy, from the impossibility of succouring the besieged.

Brussels, 3rd January 1558.

[*Italian, partly in cipher; the portions in italics deciphered by Signor Luigi Pasini.*]

Jan. 4. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

1124. GIOVANNI MICHIEL, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

On presenting himself before Calais M. de Guise made himself master without opposition (*senza contrasto*) of that part of the town fronting the sea, and which, forming a bank (*sponda*—Risbank ?), receives, as it were, into an arm or small gulf the vessels which arrive there, and which for greater security withdraw thither under the walls of the town; and he simultaneously took possession (*occupò*) both of the ships and their crews, and of the hostels (*et delle hostarie*), which are built there outside for the accommodation of the mariners and wayfarers, so that when they embark or disembark by night on account of the tides they may not have to enter the town. In order not to lose time M. de Guise immediately commenced battering it, as on that side it has neither moats (*fosse*), flanks (*fianchi*), nor platforms (*terrapieni*) within, the town being thought secured by the sea, from which it is only separated by the width of the road; but he could not make any effect, and was compelled, on the contrary, to retire, for the battery, being made on board the ships,* which with the flood tide are on a level with the town, but when it ebbs they in like manner fall gradually, so that the cannon shot struck six or seven paces below the wall, according to the reflux of the sea. So the defenders within, from the ramparts, being above the ships, and, made them move off, in the meanwhile, by earthworks and barricades, fortified the road at the entry of the town, and secured it in such a way by placing artillery there that it could no longer be held, save with great danger. M. de Guise is now encamped most commodiously above the site first occupied by him, Boulogne in his rear supplying him with victuals and all sorts of provisions, and having from the wood not more than half a league off great plenty of fuel. He proposed at one and the same time to batter the tower which is at the entry of the port, and that part of the town which has the castle for angle, as the weakest part, because when master of the castle, which is without flanks (*senza fianchi*), he would easily obtain the town; and two days ago he commenced battering, for which purpose he had 60 pieces of artillery, the greater part of them being cannons (*havendo per quest' effetto sessanta pezzi di artegliaria, la maggior parte de canoni*). Although the besieged defend themselves stoutly (*si diffendino gagliardamente*), it is nevertheless not authentically understood that the garrison is more numerous than usual, the governor [Lord Wentworth], as said lately by the King, not having chosen to admit any one; and notwithstanding a public report that the Duke of Savoy in

* There is no mention of these floating batteries in Lord Hardwicke's State Papers concerning the loss of Calais.

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person is coming to succour the place with a strong body of cavalry and infantry, the hope of its capture does not in the least diminish.

Yesterday the Cardinal Legate Triulzi made his entry in state, as usual, being met by the clergy and the municipality, and by the university, and was taken to the cathedral church of Notre Dame, where he is lodged, and to-day he was accompanied from his lodging to public audience of the King by the Cardinals Bourbon, Guise, Sens, and Châtillon. He sent his auditor and secretary to give me notice of all he had negotiated about universal peace, expressing himself in general terms, which the King reciprocated in like manner. The Legate despatched a courier to the Pope with an account of the King's good disposition, and wished also to send a gentleman to Brussels with the same news for Cardinal Caraffa, but he was merely allowed to despatch a trumpet with a letter.

Yesterday and the day before, the Cardinal of Lorraine held an especial "congregation," the first day with the bishops and clergy, and the next with the nobility and these chief delegates from the towns, explaining to them privately the cause of their being convoked, that they might think about the supplies; and to-morrow they are all generally to appear in the King's presence in one of these public halls of the Parliament, to hear from him his intention, which will be principally about requesting money.

Paris, 4th January 1558.

[*Italian.*]

Jan. 4. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

1125. MICHIEL SURIAN, Venetian Ambassador with King Philip, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The Cardinal of Trent [*Cristoforo Madrucci*] *departed hence yesterday, very dissatisfied, he having come hither chiefly to obtain from the king Pontremoli and its territory, which is very considerable, on the confines of the Milanese and of Tuscany; but his Majesty would not concede it him, excusing himself because he did not choose to dismember any more of that State, which has already been but too much enfeebled and dismembered, though, to gratify his most illustrious Lordship, he gave his brother, for life, an annuity of* 2,000 *crowns, to be paid in the Milanese, besides the pension of* 10,000 *crowns received by the Cardinal himself on the archbishopric of Toledo, which reward might well satisfy any one whose mind and desires are well regulated.*

The Cardinal Legate Caraffa is also dissatisfied, because, as he told me yesterday morning, the requests relating to his own interests did not content him, they having been three: one, the priory of Naples for himself, with the arrears due from the time when he first had it until now, which would be a very large sum, as it is worth 8,000 *crowns* per annum; *the second, for the Marquis of Montebello, is the Marquisate of Oira, in the kingdom of Naples, yielding* 6,000 *crowns rental, and vacant owing to the absence of its lord, who has turned Lutheran and resides at Basle; the third demand is the Duchy of Bari for the Duke of Paliano, which, together with another county, yields some* 40,000 *crowns, and on which*

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the Pope had a design after the death of the Queen of Poland [Bonna Sforza], and unbosomed himself to the Duke of Alva, and sent hither a gentleman on purpose, who arrived lately with letters about this and the Priory of Naples, addressed both to the King and to Don Ruy Gomez. Cardinal Caraffa has not told me what answer he received, but I hear on good authority that neither the King nor any of his councillors approve of the grant, but not to dissatisfy his Lordship by openly denying him a thing of which he claims the restitution, it having heretofore belonged to him, they think of making so many counter-demands that to avoid conceding them he will cease asking for the Priory and Marquisate of Oira. Cardinal Caraffa told me that he did not anticipate any difficulty about these matters, but that he has discovered an evil office performed by the Duke of Alva, owing to which he considers himself much deceived by his Excellency; the offence being that the Duke heretofore promised the Pope Oira for his nephews, and that he would write to the King about it; but it subsequently transpired that he borrowed from Offredo, Marquis of Trevico, a certain sum of money under promise of giving him Oira, and the Duke now strongly urges the King to give Offredo the rest of the estate exceeding the value of the money lent, and to invest him with the whole of it. King Philip seems inclined to satisfy Marquis Offredo, so Cardinal Caraffa awaits the result of this negotiation until the arrival of the Duke of Alva, who is expected here in a few days. To the request about the Duchy of Bari, his Majesty replied that he did not yet know how the late Queen of Poland [Bonna Sforza] had disposed of it, nor could he decide until fully informed about other particulars on that subject, which cannot be obtained until the arrival of the Duke of Alva; but the Legate tells me that although the Duke promised the Pope to favour his wish in this affair, he nevertheless asked the King to give him the Duchy of Bari for himself, so his right reverend Lordship is dissatisfied with the Duke, nor does it please him that His Majesty should delay these negotiations until his arrival; yet, as the King, on the other hand, told him that he was merely waiting for such information as requisite, as with regard to the decision it has to pass solely through His Majesty's own hands and those of the Cardinal, whom His Majesty chooses to dismiss, content and satisfied.

The other negotiations which were commenced still continue, viz. about the Inquisition, and the regulation of [*its*] *authority* (dell' autorità) *in Spain and Sicily. Nothing is said about the peace, either because they are waiting for letters from France, or because they in fact care little about it* (non se ne fa molto conto), *for which reasons I have not performed any office on the subject, beyond what I wrote heretofore, nor shall I do anything in this matter until some fresh opportunity present itself.*

Brussels, 4th January 1558.

[*Italian, partly in cipher; the portion in italics deciphered by Signor Luigi Pasini.*]

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Jan. 4. **1126.** CARDINAL POLE to KING PHILIP.*

MS. St. Mark's Library, Cod. XXIV. cl. X. p. 190 verso.

Although I wrote to your Majesty yesterday, in reply to what you were pleased to write to me on the 24th ultimo, yet nevertheless, having heard to-day of the loss of Risbank†, near Calais, I will not omit telling you how, in an untoward circumstance (*in dispiacevol caso*) the most serene Queen has shown her usual firmness (*constantia*), which has comforted me the more, as I was at first anxious lest such unexpected news might seriously agitate Her Majesty, especially as we now hope she is pregnant (*ritrovandosi hora specialmente sicome speramo graveda*); but having seen, not only that she was not in the least disheartened by this news, but that immediately on hearing it she commenced arranging and providing by such means as possible, both divine and human, for what the present need requires, as also by ordering supplications and prayers to be made in all the religious congregations (*in tutti i luoghi religiosi*) for success, I was much comforted. I have deemed it my duty to give notice of this to your Majesty, as by your putting forth your vigorous arm (*gagliarda mano*) and aid, which we are certain you will do, with such speed as the present need requires, I have no doubt but that the Almighty will thus convert everything to His greater glory, and at the same time to the consolation and honour of your Majesties and your realms; as I continually pray His divine Majesty's goodness to do, and to preserve and prosper your Majesty, for the common weal, and particularly for this Kingdom, which is placed under your care and government.

Greenwich, 4th January 1558.

[*Italian.*]

Jan. 5. **1127.** MICHIEL SURIAN, Venetian Ambassador with King Philip, to the DOGE and SENATE.

Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

Early this morning, a courier from England, who left Dover on the 3rd, brings news that the French have taken the Castle (la rocca)‡ *of the harbour of Calais, which is a very small one, and fronts the town, nor is it more than* 80 *or* 100 *paces from it, and it is not strong. He also says that the townspeople* (quelli della terra) *were battering it, having first burnt and levelled a suburb of houses, which impeded the fire of the artillery, so that the French will be compelled to abandon it. Of the rest of the army he reports that it was not yet under Gravelines, though according to public rumour it was going thither; and this is the freshest advice received here from that quarter.*

Brussels, 5th January 1558.

[*Italian, partly in cipher; the portion in italics deciphered by Signor Luigi Pasini.*]

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* In the original manuscript, this letter follows the one dated 14th December 1557, addressed to Cardinal Caraffa, and is headed "*Al medesimo*;" a mistake which confirms my belief that the second letter addressed by the scribe to *Stefano Sauli*, date 25th May 1557, was destined by Cardinal Pole for Cardinal Morone, who on the first Monday in June 1557, was by order of the Pope imprisoned in Castle St. Angelo.

† Risbank was taken on the 3rd of January 1558; see letter from the Earl of Rutland to Queen Mary in Foreign Calendar, p. 357.

‡ Castle of Rysebank. (*See* Chronicle of Calais, p. xxvi, footnote.)

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Jan. 8. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

1128. BERNARDO NAVAGERO, Venetian Ambassador in Rome, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The Pope's courier returned this day from France. He had been sent with a papal brief to demand the sons of the Duke of Paliano and Marquis Montebello; he has not brought letters for any one, not even for the French Ambassador. The particulars brought by him have not yet been heard, as the despatch is addressed to the Pope, who after dinner went to sleep, so until night the Duke could not be with his Holiness, but from the sorrow depicted on his countenance after this courier's arrival, it is supposed that the news of the coming of his son, which he expected with so much anxiety, are not very good.

Rome, 8th January 1558.

[*Italian.*]

Jan. 8. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

1129. MICHIEL SURIAN, Venetian Ambassador with King Philip, to the DOGE and SENATE.

Today, at noon, news arrived of the entry into Calais of the French, which in like manner as it is of greater importance than any other intelligence that could be heard at this present time, so has it very greatly troubled everybody here, both on account of the actual loss and the subsequent detriment; the French, on the other hand, having made the greatest possible acquisition in these parts, well nigh expelling the English from Flanders, and depriving them of that port which rendered them masters of the Channel, and of a fortress which they held in such great account, and giving them such vast repute, they being thus enabled to harass France and Flanders, and all these States at any time. There still remain to the English Hammes and Guisnes, two small inland (fra terra) *fortresses, whose security depended entirely on Calais, so through the loss of that place they will easily share the same fate. The Duke of Savoy departed shortly before this intelligence arrived, and according to report he will remain at Ghent,* 10 *leagues hence, until such troops as can be mustered shall be in marching order, though it will be difficult to make provision immediately, as the want of money is very great.*

Brussels, 8th January 1558.

[*Italian, partly in cipher; the portions in italics deciphered by Signor Luigi Pasini.*]

Jan. 8. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

1130. MICHIEL SURIAN, Venetian Ambassador with King Philip, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The French have not attacked Gravelines, as was feared, but remain at Calais battering it from the castle of Rysebank (dove è quella rochetta), *and although at this court, Calais is held to be a strong and secure fortress, I nevertheless remember that on my going to see it internally,* when I crossed over to England, I found it very thinly inhabited, most especially by soldiers, and the place being large requires many; nor do I know whether they can put them in*

* On the 28th March 1557. *See* his despatch in Venetian Calendar, dated Westminster, 31st March 1557.

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at their pleasure, having the sea between them. Besides this, towards the harbour, where the French are now battering it, it seemed to me very weak, as the walls are high in the ancient fashion, and there is no platform (terrapieno), *the moat also being small, and it is ill flanked; nor has this ever been remedied, because those who have the care of it rely on the opinion current all over the world, that it is an inexpugnable fortress. It is possible that in other parts it may be more scientifically constructed, and that in this quarter, no great care was taken, it seeming secure by reason of its being so very near the sea. The Earl of Pembroke, Governor* (capo principale) *of Calais, is not there, and the whole charge of the defence is vested in the Governor of the town, styled Deputy* (Debiti) [*Lord Wentworth*], *and the soldiers of the garrison are all Englishmen, as they do not trust any other nation; but the moment it was heard in England that the French had taken the castle of Rysebank, they commenced sending troops to Dover, where the Earl of Pembroke also arrived on his way to Flanders, and at this hour it is heard that he crossed with* 5,000 *infantry, and landed at Dunkirk, six leagues from Calais.*

It has been determined by this side (da questa parte) *to send the Duke of Savoy towards those frontiers* with an army-corps* (corpo di gente) *drafted from several garrisons, including that of St. Quentin, about which places it seems there is nothing to fear, the French being now at a great distance thence, but this might prove to be a second mistake* (disordine) *added to the first, which was that of disbanding the army, when the enemy were intent on re-enforcing themselves.*

Brussels, 8th January 1558.

[*Italian, partly in cipher; the portion in italics deciphered by Signor Luigi Pasini.*]

Jan. 9. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

1131. GIOVANNI MICHIEL, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

Now in the dusk of the evening, during the entertainment at the Court† for the marriage of the second daughter of the Duchess of Bouillon to the second son of the Duke de Nevers, and whilst the King was dancing (*et che 'l Re Christmo si trovava in danza*), Secretary Robertet arrived from the camp, having been sent by M. de Guise with the news that last Friday, the 7th, after the castle of Calais had been cannonaded from three quarters by three very powerful batteries, commanded by the two sons of the Constable, Montmorency [François de Montmorency, his eldest son], and Damville [Henri de Montmorency], and the Master of the Horse (*Grand Ecuyer*),‡ so violent an assault was made on the part cannonaded by Gouffier that the castle was taken by storm, all the English, its defenders, being killed (*con morte di tutti l'Inglesi che si trovarono alla difesa*), and only 15 or 20 of the assailants, not one of whom was of importance. After this capture, whilst M. de

* Frontiers of Gravelines?

† Query in the "Palais des Tournelles." (*See* Père Dauiel, vol. 9, p. 894–896, A.D. 1559.)

‡ Claude Gouffier, Marquis de Boissy. (*See* the late Sir William Hackett's Index to Foreign Calendar, "Mary.")

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Guise was preparing to storm the town,* one of the inhabitants appeared on the ramparts (*alli ripari*) with a flag of truce, praying the besiegers not to fire nor to proceed to farther hostilities, as the townspeople were willing to surrender; so whilst it was being treated to have them at discretion, according to the Duke's resolve, as he knew that those who remained were very few and very weak, he having shortly before, at the passes occupied by him, routed four companies of Spaniards on their march to succour them, they demanding safety for their property and persons, he sent Robertet to assure the King that either at discretion or in some other way the town could not fail to be his. Therefore not only his Majesty and the Queen and court, but this entire population likewise, make such great rejoicing that greater would not be made for any other event, however felicitous; there being no longer any doubt but that the town will be taken, as it only remains to hear the terms of the surrender, which M. de Guise has sent to say he will transmit immediately.

I shall forthwith congratulate the King and Queen and the Cardinal of Lorraine, who, besides the other causes, displays extraordinary signs of joy on account of his brother the Duke de Guise, the commander-in-chief of the army.

Paris, 9th January 1558.

[*Italian.*]

Jan. 10. Original Letter Book, Venetian Archives.

1132. BERNARDO NAVAGERO, Venetian Ambassador in Rome, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The Duke of Paliano sent for my secretary today, and spoke to him about the lads (*delli putti*), hoping that his Serenity will so commission his ambassador with King Henry that they may get back the children (*quei figliuoli*). He said that the Nuncio in France spoke first with the Cardinal of Lorraine, and then with the King, to whom he presented the Pope's brief and my letter; he had fair words in reply, but performance was delayed. On the night of the 23rd December the Cardinal of Lorraine wrote a note to the Nuncio, telling him that the King awaited certain resolutions from Cardinal Caraffa [the Legate at Brussels], and that he would not give the lads (*li putti*) leave until he got them. The Duke continued: "*God has willed that they should give this so resolute and impudent a reply clearly to prove their barbarity.* They might have said that it was not well to send these lads (*questi putti*) away in the depth of winter, and that they should wait for the spring, as the marriage of the Dauphin being about to take place, his Majesty wished these children (*questi figlioli*) to be present at it, and such like compliments, as although we should have taken them for what they were worth, yet as they had a sort of colour we could have dissembled *about this honour* (con questo honor), *which can no longer be done*

* This agrees with what the Legate Triulzi wrote to the Pope from Paris, "that the place, *i.e.* town, had been rendered without any battery being laid to it, or defence made, *but by appointment of those within it.*" *See* Foreign Calendar, "Mary," date, Rome, 28th January 1558, p. 361). *See also* John Highfield's letter to the Queen, about "*treason*," in Lord Hardwicke, vol. 1, p. 119.

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now ; so I am afraid of some evil, knowing the Pope's humour (cervello), *and how much he insists on his dignity* ..... This detention may give cause to some malignant about the person of King Philip, for we know there are those who do not wish him to agree with the Pope, to tell him that his Holiness has an understanding with the King of France, and that the not giving up the lads (*li putti*) is a collusion between them, so as to do worse than ever subsequently when the opportunity presents itself, and thus make King Philip act with reserve in acknowledging us (*in riconoscerne*) ; and even were the King Catholic to do us good, the greater his demonstration the more will the suspicion of the French increase ; so nothing but evil can ensue ..... We are awaiting the Pope's decision about the reply to France, *and I believe his Holiness will answer sharply* (per le rime), *as he cannot tolerate that the King should do him so great a wrong* as to keep those lads away from him without any cause, they not having been sent as hostages, but simply as a mark of affection."

Rome, 10th January 1558.

[*Italian.*]

Jan. 10. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

1133. GIOVANNI MICHIEL, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

Yesterday evening, on receiving the news of the taking of Calais I sent it to your Serenity forthwith, but until now, 11 a.m., the capitulation which M. de Guise said he would send by M. de Sipierre has not yet arrived, though it is not surprising, because, being unable to come without a considerable escort as far as Abbeville, the road being dangerous and insecure, he cannot make great haste, but it is expected hourly.

To return thanks to God, the King and Queen came to the Sainte Chapelle, where they had a solemn mass sung, after which his Majesty gave audience to the Legate, who at his first interview, when urging the general peace, would not confound public business with private interests, but having found the Pope's great-nephews still here, whereas he believed them to be on their way home, he thought it his duty, knowing his Holiness' wish in this matter (although he had no particular commission on the subject), to speak about it to the King, as he had already done with the Cardinal of Lorraine. His Majesty replied that before his departure hence he will despatch them, and it is already said that on the arrival of the capitulation he will go in person to Calais, where a council of war will be held about proceeding on some other expedition, many persons being of opinion that they ought to attempt Guisnes, to take that other fortress from the English ; whilst to have open passage through the whole of Flanders, others propose Gravelines.

Paris, 10th January 1557.

[*Italian.*]

Jan. 10 ? MS. St Mark's Library, Cod. XXIV. Cl. X. p. 191 recto.

1134. CARDINAL POLE to the CARDINAL OF MANTUA [Ercole Gonzaga].

As nothing in nature gives greater pain to the human mind than the death of those who are naturally dear to us, so in that case can we have no more efficacious consolation than to hear that they have

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ended this life, with manifest signs of being in favour with God; both of which effects (*l'uno et l'altro dei quali effetti*), I am certain, will have been felt by your most illustrious Lordship, on the death of your most illustrious brother,* which—knowing as I do how very much you loved him, not merely from ties of blood, but with your heart (*ma di animo*), and by reason of his many rare and excellent qualities—will, I am aware, have caused you extreme pain; but on hearing how piously and christianly he died, I doubt not but that together with the wound, you will have received efficacious medicine for its cure; as experienced by myself, for, having had the first news here, from the Regent Figueroa, who gave it me with the words "Oh! with what ardent devotion did the Lord Don Ferrante die, and in truth like a Holy Knight," I felt the remedy of the blow well nigh before the stroke; which assuredly, besides every other consideration, could not but be very heavy and grievous for me, on account of your most illustrious Lordship. This consolation will, I hope, have been of greater efficacy for the pious mind of your most illustrious Lordship, than any other that in this case could be offered.

I have pondered and admired the Divine Providence, which in the midst of so many and such great infirmities as that Lord underwent during these his last years, God chose to preserve him alive until he had overcome all the envy and calumnies which never fail to assail great personages of such excellent ability and valour as his were; causing him to die in such great repute and honour with everybody, and to the very great regret of his Majesty the King, and of all his own family.

May our Lord God of His goodness vouchsafe fully to console your most illustrious and right reverend Lordship, and give you the grace to resign yourself throughout to His Divine will; and may He have you always under His Holy protection.

[London, 10?]† January 1558.

[*Italian.*]

Jan. 10.
MS. St. Mark's Library, Cod. XXIV., Cl. X. p. 191 verso, & pp. 192 recto & verso.

1135. INSTRUCTION for GIO. FRANCESCO STELLA, [Cardinal Pole's Auditor, accredited by him to Cardinal Carlo Caraffa, Papal Legate at Brussels.]

You will return to Monsignor the most illustrious the Legate, and tell his most illustrious Lordship that the right reverend Cardinal Pole, having heard what he and others of his retinue said openly to several persons, about the bad opinion entertained by the Pope of Cardinal Morone, and of him, in the matter of religion, has commissioned you—besides the office of visiting his most illustrious Lordship—to perform this one likewise, not only as to a fellow Legate (*non solo come con-legato*), but to the Pope's kinsman; telling him in Cardinal Pole's name to consider the necessity, which, should things proceed in this manner, will compel him to defend his honour, being so connected as it is with the service of God in this

* Don Ferrante Gonzaga died at Brussels on the 15th November 1557. He was at the battle of St. Quentin, and according to Moreri, his death was hastened by regret at its not having been followed up by a march to Paris.

† Blank in MS.

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kingdom. Nor could he do this without narrating and giving particular account of his whole life and actions, and of whatever occurred from the beginning, on several occasions*, between his Holiness and him; nor does he see how he could do this without greatly blaming (*senza grande incarico di*) that person, for whose honour—should anything else be at stake (*quando altro non ve ne andasse*)—he would willingly lose not only his own but also his life itself. This was the cause which induced him to send his Auditor to Rome, to lay this before the Pope, together with the other inconveniences which ensued, and will continue, should matters proceed against Cardinal Pole as they had commenced (*come havevano cominciato*); but if such should be the will of Divine Providence, his right reverend Lordship will always have this satisfaction of not having failed on his part to avoid all scandal as much as he could, and to shun the necessity for coming to this; although God of His grace has provided him with so many and such strong forces (*presidij*), not so much of words as of facts, to enable him to defend the honour of His Divine Majesty in his person.

In addition to this, you may tell his Right Reverend Lordship that it cannot but seem very singular if, so many and such vivid proofs of his religion and faith having been witnessed here, his Holiness should on any other account have entertained a bad opinion of him in such a matter, and that he had not rather thanked God for being thus undeceived, or else [inferred] that God had in this manner cured and converted him. It appears, indeed, too strange that anyone could have so iniquitous an opinion (*cosi scellerato concetto*) of him [as to suppose] that what he has done, and is still doing here, for the restoration of the Catholic religion, and the destruction of that which is opposed to it, he did, and is doing fictitiously (*con animo simulato*); which could only proceed from an extraordinary impiety, coupled with extreme ambition, to which God has granted him the grace to have opportunity for showing himself very averse (*alienissimo*) during the whole course of his life.

You will then say, how everybody has been much surprised that his Holiness should not evince such regard as due for the quality and merits of this most Serene Queen, he having willed to take away from her, and to give her, a Legate without first giving any hint of it to her Majesty; and although she sent to let him know the great inconveniences, injuries, and perils, which ensued thence, and might ensue, contrary to the service of God, requesting him to regard her and this realm with the due paternal pity (*pietà*), her Majesty during so long a period has never received any reply; his Holiness still seeming to remain firm with regard to the Legate appointed by him, although he hears not only from the most Serene Queen, but from his own personal confession (*di lui proprio*), how ill suited (*sproportionato*) an instrument he is, on every account, for this charge, although in other respects a religious and worthy person. He himself says, that he never passes through London without a crowd of scoffers at his back (*che non li vengono fatto dietro segni d' irrisioni*), perhaps yet more on account of these reports

* *In diversi* (sic); a word omitted.

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which have circulated about him, to the regret and scandal of good men, and to the exaltation and slander of the wicked (*et essaltatione et detrattione de' cattivi*).

In conclusion, you will tell his right reverend Lordship that by restoring his honour to Cardinal Pole (*che rintegrandosi monsignor Rmo. dell' honor suo*) the aforesaid neccessity would be removed, and all the other inconveniences be remedied; which it seems to him his Holiness could not only do with a good conscience, on considering better all that he might and should consider in this matter, but moreover at the same time save his honour, by saying that he had been induced by zeal owing to the false accusation received, etc. You will add that should his right reverend Lordship be the means of conducting the matter by this road, he would render a great service to God and to his Holiness at the same time, and which would be very agreeable (*gratissimo*) to Cardinal Pole, by relieving him from the necessity for doing what his mind has always abhorred, and does abhor extremely.

[London ?] 10th January 1558.

[*Italian.*]

Jan. 10.

1136. CARDINAL POLE to KING PHILIP.

MS. St. Mark's Library, Cod. XXIV. Cl. x., p. 192 verso.

On this sudden and grievous catastrophe of the loss of Calais, in like manner as Pole's chief anxiety was about the way in which her Majesty bore it, so does he consider himself bound to give account of it to the King, to comfort him in a matter which Pole is very certain pains him more than anything else. Immediately on hearing the news, Pole went to the Queen, nor did he know how to find better means for consoling her, after alluding to Divine Providence, than to offer for her consideration the example of the Emperor, of King Philip, and her own likewise, in bearing with fortitude and constancy any distressing and adverse casualty, not allowing herself to be depressed, in the same way that she had never permitted prosperity to elate her; and in this present case, which is so important a one, her Majesty really shows that in generosity of nature and in pardoning (*et in generositá di natura e in gratia*) she is very like herself, and no less connected with your Majesties in this respect, than she is by ties of blood.

It is unnecessary for Pole to write more to the King who will be minutely informed about everything in England through the letters of the Council, and by the Queen's messenger, as also by Don Juan de Ayala, from whom, to his usual comfort, he heard of the King's well-being, and received the letter his Majesty was pleased to write to him, for which he humbly kisses his hands, praying the Lord God to have the King and his interest under His benign protection at all times, for His service, and for the benefit of Christendom.

St. James's, 10th January 1558.

[*Italian.*]

Jan. 11.

1137. GIOVANNI MICHIEL, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

I went to the King, being introduced, as usual, by the Cardinal of Lorraine, and presented him in your Serenity's name with such

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congratulations as seemed fit to me, adding that with this opportunity I had to perform another office enjoined me by the Senate about the general peace, in conformity with his title of "most Christian," and thus celebrating this victory, which restored to him what had been held by his predecessors after a lapse of more than 200 years. He listened to me graciously, and, with regard to the victory, not only thanked, but embraced me very tenderly, the expression of his countenance and his gestures indicating extraordinary satisfaction; and as for the peace, he said very briefly as is his wont, that your Serenity's exhortations were most dear to him, but that they by no means increased his wish for it, adding in the most affectionate manner, "M. l'Ambassadeur, no one desires the peace more than I do, provided I can obtain it on fair terms, and assure the Signory of this." He then commenced speaking of the affairs of Calais, having shortly before received the capitulation, repeating to me in detail all its contents, which document, before his Majesty saw it, had been read to me by the Cardinal of Lorraine, to whom the courier delivered it in my presence, as your Serenity will perceive by the accompanying copy received from his right reverend Lordship.* His Majesty said that next Monday, the 17th, he purposed going thither with the Dauphin, having a mind (*havendo animo*) to make farther progress, and believing that M. de Guise is now under Gravelines (*sic;* Guisnes?), but that after giving such orders as most necessary he should return. He told me how the conquest was made in only seven days from beginning to end; the length of the assault, which lasted for five consecutive hours; the danger in which Marshal Strozzi, M. d'Aumale, and his brother the Marquis d'Elbœuf found themselves, together with 400 of the chief personages in the camp, they being all in the lowest part, called "the *Dunes*" (*le dunette*), to encourage the soldiers who were going to the assault, and on the sudden the flood tide not only stopped them, but for four successive hours they remained motionless in the sea, without the possibility of assistance, being compelled by force to await its ebb. He said that upwards of 300 pieces of very fine artillery had been found in the place, together with an infinite quantity of ammunition and victuals, together with much other wealth in wool and other booty. When I asked if he had any news of affairs in Italy, or of any stir in Flanders and England, he said, "Nothing of importance," so I then took leave. The Dauphin and the Duke of Lorraine being in the King's chamber, I congratulated them likewise, and then went to the Queen, and in like manner as I found her infinitely joyful, so did she evince a very great wish for some adjustment, but of such a sort (to repeat her own words) as to give hope of its lasting, and that it should not be temporary, like this last one had been, as she would prefer nothing whatever, thanking you much for your exhortations to the King. The like was said to me by Madame Marguerite and the Duchess de Valentinois.

The Cardinal of Lorraine answered me in the same way as the King, everything proceeding from him, but in very staid language,

* Not found.

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and much to the dignity of his Majesty and of your Serenity, towards whom he hourly shows himself more and more well affected and disposed; so should you on account of these successes charge me to perform any office, I respectfully suggest the express insertion in the letter (that I may exhibit it), besides the name of the Duke de Guise, of that of the Cardinal likewise, this victory giving them such repute that the administration of France will remain in their hands for ever (*non sia più per uscir da loro*).

Paris, 11th January 1558.

[*Italian.*]

Jan. 12. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

1138. GIOVANNI MICHIEL, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

According to the last advices it is heard that, after taking Calais, they have already made the trenches round Gravelines (*sic;* Guisnes?), and it now begins to be said that this attack likewise will succeed, the town being open, and the castle not very great, and consequently more easy to attack, although some companies of Spaniards are said to have entered it.

M. de Guise, in the meanwhile, is intent on repairing and securing Calais, and promises to complete the work in three or four weeks, having only to fortify the part that was battered, the rest not requiring any repairs; and he writes that he shall leave M. de Termes as governor there.

They are now awaiting the decision about the proposal made to these States for pecuniary supply, and it is already heard that the clergy have bound themselves, besides the four ordinary tenths, amounting to one million and two hundred thousand francs, to double that sum, and the resolve of the other States will soon be known, so in proportion to this one it is hoped to yield a very considerable sum; and although the King departs with the Cardinal of Lorraine, yet, as the Queen remains with the Cardinal de Sens and the privy council, she will speed the despatch of this business. The townspeople at Lyons concluded the loan of 500,000 francs, with the bonus of 14 per cent., which the foreign merchants had refused, the security being the duty of 5 per cent. on silk cloths, which, as it expired in three years, has been prolonged until their repayment. These sums, together with the bonuses of the great loan (*doni del gran partito*), at the rate of sixteen per cent., which were withheld at the last fair, will for the most part serve for the need of Piedmont, from whence, according to a recent report, M. de Brissac was returning, M. d'Aumale being sent thither in his stead. Nothing more is said about it, but, on the other hand, Brissac sent hither one of his attendants to suggest many measures, and to urge them, protesting that detriment would ensue if they were neglected.

The King is sending Monsieur de Vinò, *alias* Hierolimo dalla Rovere,* to Rome, for the performance of an office with the Pope on

* Of Hieronimo della Rovere (without any alias) mention is made at p. 258, Foreign Calendar, "Mary."

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account of this victory, for which public processions have been made, and they still continue.

Paris, 12th January 1558.

[*Italian.*]

Jan. 13. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

1139. MICHIEL SURIAN, Venetian Ambassador with King Philip, to the DOGE and SENATE.

On the 9th I announced the loss of Calais, which, both on account of the detriment incurred and of the confusion that may take place in England and in these provinces, causes very serious anxiety to King Philip and his ministers, although they report the damage to be less than it appears, saying that from this evil a great benefit will be derived, as the English, provoked by the injury, will muster such considerable forces as to keep France in constant trouble. This is what they go circulating (quello che si va spargendo) *to cloak the magnitude of this loss, but the truth is that they are in constant thought about providing for the conservation of these provinces, and most especially of the confines of Artois and Flanders, about which, when I asked Don Ruy Gomez whether they were secure, he said he hoped so, but spoke so coldly that he made me suspect evil; and about Gravelines, he said very plainly that the place is weak, but that they thought of defending it with a considerable garrison of soldiers, part of whom, as already written by me, are drawn from these borders towards Namur until other troops can be provided, a provision which has two difficulties, the one that a large body of troops cannot be mustered and brought from a great distance in a few days, and the other and more important is the great want of money, which increases daily, nor would it be easy to obtain it from the merchants, as they distrust the securities. It is heard that the most Christian King has no lack of money, and that merchants on the marts of Germany have promised him a large sum of gold, they saying that he pays readily, and has never raised a difficulty about the assignments. To provide for this need, King Philip convoked the council of the provinces, and laying before them the present state of affairs, did not demand any fixed quantity of money, but exhorted them to think of doing their utmost, offering on his part to make every effort to raise supply, and from what I hear his Majesty purposes selling whatever he has saleable in his realms, and will try every expedient to provide for the present necessities. Notwithstanding all these difficulties, they are raising troops in these provinces and in the neighbouring territory, and from Germany they are expecting speedily 400 horse, sent by the Duke of Brunswick. The Duke of Savoy is at Bruges, and hopes soon to get together a corps of from 8,000 to 10,000 foot and 2,000 horse, with which to go and provide for the places most in need.*

The Count de Feria will depart in two days for England to console the Queen. The Marquis of Montebello wished to go with him, but was dissuaded by the King, on account of these disturbances.

Nothing farther is said of the French since it was heard that they had reinforced themselves and were marching upon Guisnes, nor have I been able to confer with any of the ministers, as they are

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constantly closeted (*ristretti*) in the council chamber, so I have no other authentic news to give your Serenity.

Brussels, 13th January 1558.

[*Italian, partly in cipher; the portions in italics deciphered by Signor Luigi Pasini.*]

Jan. 14. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

1140. MICHIEL SURIAN, Venetian Ambassador with King Philip, to the DOGE and SENATE.

Cardinal Caraffa has shown me a letter dated Paris, from the 5th to the 8th instant, addressed to him by the Legate Triultio, announcing the first offices performed by him with the King about peace, and that his most Christian Majesty's reply was replete with kind expressions towards the Pope* (con parole piene di affetto verso il Pontefice), *the King saying that what he had done for the Pope and his family was very little in comparison with what he would do for the future. Concerning the peace, the King said that, although the disturbances* (li tumulti) *made by this side required him to resent them, his regard for the public quiet of Christendom, which he has always had at heart, will cause him not to reject fair terms, provided the peace be a true one. Cardinal Caraffa said to me that he saw that both these kings chose to stand upon their honour* (star sull' honorevole), *and that neither of them will be the first to stoop, but that he will nevertheless not fail to attempt the agreement between them, using this remedy, viz., to propose to one and the other of them what his right reverend Lordship and I shall determine, showing that he will not treat anything without my counsel, which he said perhaps as a compliment. The general opinion here is that Cardinal Caraffa has not the peace so much at heart, but is thinking about his own private matters. He intends nevertheless to confer about this business to-day with King Philip to ascertain his will. So far as can be gathered from the letter, the King of France had not then heard of the taking of Calais, Caraffa being therefore of opinion that no sure judgment can be formed about his wish for peace, as this fresh event may easily have changed his fantasy* (fantasia), *and make him follow the current* (seguir il corso) *of his good fortune.*

Brussels, 14th January 1558.

[*Italian, partly in cipher; the portion in italics deciphered by Signor Luigi Pasini.*]

Jan. 15. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

1141. MICHIEL SURIAN, Venetian Ambassador with King Philip, to the DOGE and SENATE.

A report circulated the court this morning that the French were at Guisnes, and this being a very small place, it is reasonably feared that it cannot hold out long, there being also no means for succouring it, as there is no army on foot nor convenience for forming one, from shortness of time and lack of money; and by this same advice it is heard that Count d'Egmont, who went to the

* The name is spelt indifferently, Triulzi, Trivulzi, or Trivulcio.

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frontiers with such troops as he could muster, has been routed and stripped by the French, and as yet the only other known particulars are that the Count escaped with such part of his men as had the better and swifter horses. Nothing is heard from England, which causes every one to augur ill, whether, in truth, no news arrives, or that it comes and is suppressed.

Cardinal Caraffa was unable to see the King either yesterday or to-day. Possibly with regard to the peace, as with other matters, they will await the arrival of the Duke of Alva, about whom advice has at length been received that he has escaped the peril prepared for him (*il pericolo che li era apparecchiato*), and is coming by day journeys by way of Cologne, and will be here in five or six days.

Brussels, 15th January 1558.

[*Italian, partly in cipher; the portions in italics deciphered by Signor Luigi Pasini.*]

Jan. 15. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives. (2nd letter.)

1142. MICHIEL SURIAN, Venetian Ambassador with King Philip, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The Count de Feria tells me the French are much elated with these successes of theirs, and that they purpose doing many things, though he did not specify what, merely saying that they had left 5,000 infantry in Calais, and that they had retired with the rest of the army towards "Boulogne and those frontiers." I then asked him whether Guisnes and Hammes, the other two places belonging to the English, had surrendered, but no sure advice to that effect has been received, and he said that both one and the other were of little importance, and that although Guisnes is rather the stronger of the two, it is nevertheless a small fortress. Lord Dudley is the warder (alla custodia) *of Hammes, and Lord Grey of Guisnes, both one and the other being much esteemed by the English for their military skill, but the Count does not seem to have a very high opinion of either of them, merely saying that were Guisnes to make a little resistance for a few days it might greatly aid the recovery of Calais, which from what I hear will be attempted by one Captain Giuliano, a Spaniard, a very experienced soldier, and who in great measure caused the capture of St. Quentin* (et che fu gran causa della presa di San Quintino). *This individual has asked King Philip for a certain amount of troops, but not many, and the greater part infantry, and for some pieces of artillery and a naval squadron* (et un corpo di armata),* *and has pledged himself to recover the place within a month from this time* (prima che passi mezzo il mese di febbraro); *and an order having been given to provide him with all those things, he departed hence yesterday in that direction, and what result he may obtain will soon be seen. The Count de Feria, who was to leave for England to-day, as written by me, will delay his departure for another two or three days until the Zealand fleet* (armata) *be ready to put to sea for his passage, as in no other way would he be safe. It is also said that he will await the arrival of the Duke of Alva, which ought to take place speedily, although from*

* The repetition below of the word "*armata*" convinces me that it alludes to a maritime force.

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Augsburg hither he took a different route to the ordinary one, having been warned that certain kinsfolk of the Rhinegrave [John Philip, Count of Salm] were waiting at the posts to seize him, hoping perhaps in this way to get back the Rhinegrave; so it seems that by degrees the decision of well nigh all business is being referred (si vadano rimettendo) *to that Duke, which, in like manner as it adds to his repute, so does it detract from that of the other ministers.*

The Count de Feria tells me that his going to England is for several causes, the first to congratulate the Queen on the advice given by her these Christmas holidays to his Majesty of her being pregnant, which thing she has chosen to keep secret until now, a period of seven months, in order to be quite sure of the fact (per haverne ferma certezza), *lest the like should happen as last time, when this thing was published all over the world, and then did not prove true, whereas now, having very sure signs of it, she willed to acquaint his Majesty with the circumstance. Another cause for which the Count is sent to England is to urge the people there* (quelli populi) *to make efficient supply for the war, on which subject his lordship also told me that the King had determined to remain this year solely on the defensive, but the event of Calais has made him resolve to prepare for offence: so it is necessary to change the decisions already formed, providing what is necessary for the war in every way, it seeming that much may be hoped from England, most especially now that Parliament is sitting, and on account of this loss of Calais, than which nothing more bitter or grievous could befall the country. The third cause for which the Count is sent to England is King Philip's fear lest the intrigues* (pratiche) *of the French produce some insurrection there, in which case it does not seem that he can place firm reliance on any one of that nation, but that he must send from hence a person of authority, and who understands the national character* (et che habbia cognitione di quelli humori), *like the Count, who will be therefore accompanied by several gentlemen and captains who have frequented England, that by counsel and (military) aid* (et opera) *they may provide against any disturbance that might arise. The Count told me that for these causes the King chooses him to go over to that island, and although his lordship is always ready to serve his Majesty in everything, he nevertheless could not help evincing some regret that this charge should have devolved upon him. Nor will I omit telling your Serenity that since the 4th instant until now no letter nor any messenger is known to have arrived from England, which causes it to be suspected, not only that the passage across the Channel is insecure, but also that some tumult may have taken place in the kingdom.*

Brussels, 15th January 1558.

[*Italian, partly in cipher; the portion in italics deciphered by Signor Luigi Pasini.*]

Jan. 15. Original Letter Book, Venetian Archives.

1143. BERNARDO NAVAGERO, Venetian Ambassador at Rome, to the DOGE and SENATE.

Letters have arrived from Cardinal Caraffa dated 26th December, stating that the King has desired his right reverend Lordship to

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treat for the peace with Don Ruy Gomez and the Bishop of Arras. Cardinal Pacheco goes almost every day to the Pope, and remains a long while with him, being often visited in his own house by the Duke of Paliano, which causes much comment. His right reverend Lordship has given me to understand that one day lately the Pope continued talking to him for an hour, narrating the offices that you had performed by me and your secretaries both here and with the Duke of Alva, and those which the Venetian ambassadors had performed in favour of peace, for which acts the whole of Christendom should feel grateful.

The French Ambassador, when he heard that the lads (li putti) *were not coming, said, laughing, to my secretary, "As I have seen how easily ambassadors and public functionaries are arrested here, I recommend myself to your ambassador, who is the Pope's beloved son, so that when I shall be in Castle St. Angelo he may perform some good office for me, but I remain cheerful, having seen that they do not put anyone to death."*

Consistory assembled yesterday, and after the ordinary audiences the Pope had a book read, which was composed by a prothonotary named Guielmo, against the Lutherans, who deny that St. Peter was at Rome, and placed the See (*la sede*) there; this book proving by many ancient Greek and Latin authorities that the See (*la sede*) of that most blessed Apostle was in Rome; so his Holiness, with the Consistory, resolved that on Tuesday, the 18th instant, the *cathedra* of Rome be solemnized in like manner as that of Antioch is celebrated on the 22nd February.* His Holiness will go into chapel, and has given orders for letters to be written to the patriarchs, archbishops, and bishops throughout Christendom, desiring them to intimate and observe this solemnity in all the churches of their dioceses.

Rome, 15th January 1558.

[*Italian.*]

Jan. 15. Original Letter Book, Venetian Archives. (2nd letter.)

1144. BERNARDO NAVAGERO, Venetian Ambassador at Rome, to the DOGE and SENATE.

In the course of the conversation held by his Holiness with me, he said, "But one thing done lately by the King Catholic has touched our heart, so we will tell it you, and are content that you write it to his Sublimity [the Doge], as it is well for everything to be known, because, according to circumstances, everything yields some fruit, but with this condition, that those Lords keep it to themselves, as, were it divulged through them, we should have cause to complain and to proceed more reservedly for the future in imparting things to you.

"You must know that Ferdinand, King of the Romans, although he is a good Prince, and we believe him to be also a Catholic, yet nevertheless, compelled perhaps by some necessity, has loosened the reins of those heretics, promising them also what he ought not to have done. For this reason, King Philip, as we are informed on certain and secure authority, sent him a Spanish theologian, a man of consummate doctrine (*di somma dottrina*) and morality, to administer

* See also Foreign Calendar, "Mary," pp. 360, 361, for Carne's account of these two festivals.

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a fraternal correction (*una corretione fraterna*) to him, expressing his surprise that his Majesty, being so good and religious as he is, should have condescended so far as to grant those rogues* (*quei tristi*) a conference in which religion was to be discussed without authority from the See Apostolic, to which alone the concession of similar things appertains. King Philip also complained to the King of the Romans that his son Maximilian, King of Bohemia, whose heart is corrupt (*qual ha il petto marcio*), keeps a heretic preacher, making him preach wicked opinions (*triste opinion*), and goes to his sermons to give him repute.

"To confess the truth to you, this office performed by the King Catholic has captivated us (*ne ha comprato*), encouraging us also to send to the King of the Romans a Nuncio, whom we shall dispatch speedily, as we see ourselves assisted by so great a King as Philip is; the King of the Romans being bound to hold him in great account, both as his nephew, and because of his great power, as likewise from his having gained these last victories, for everybody is impressed by prosperous events. But to return to our first topic, we tell you that from this quarter of the King Catholic we promise ourselves much, his Majesty having also referred the affair of the peace to his two chief ministers, who are to treat with the Legate, which is a good sign, by so much the more as the dictates of reason teach us that King Philip, being victorious and superior, can make it to his honour."

The Duke of Paliano read to me a little ciphered note from Cardinal Caraffa, thus, "As for the private affairs, I am to treat them with Don Ruy Gomez alone, nor will any one know about them but we two and the King, so you will not speak about them to any one."

Rome, 15th January 1558.

[*Italian.*]

Jan. 15. Original Letter Book, Venetian Archives.

1145. BERNARDO NAVAGERO, Venetian Ambassador in Rome, to the CHIEFS of the COUNCIL of TEN.

The Cardinal of Fano [Pietro Bertano]† told my secretary that one day this week he had audience of the Pope, who caressed him extraordinarily; he praised King Philip at great length, saying that he has discovered him to be a good Catholic, and religious Prince; that he is as great a King as any other that ever reigned in Christendom; and that he will soon be even greater; that to negotiate with him is more solid and secure than with others; and he at length spoke in such a way as to give the Cardinal of Fano clearly to comprehend that his Holiness intends to take a leap, and by a fresh war stake the rest of this See, and complete the ruin of Italy (*che Sua Santità vole far un salto, et con nuova guerra far del resto di questa sede, et finir di ruinar l'Italia*). The Cardinal then said, "I will speak freely with you, but pray you so to do that my words may not pass beyond the ambassador and yourself, as it might do me much harm, for you know what a sharp look-out these Lords keep upon me, and that for the merest trifle they would put

* The ringleader of these "rogues" was Melancthon, who died in 1560.

† Pietro Bertano, on the 20th December 1553, was made Cardinal by Julius III., who sent him twice to the Emperor Charles V. at Vienna. (*See* Cardella, vol. 4, pp. 318–320.)

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me into the Castle, because they were of opinion that I directed the late war, and that I was more of an Imperialist than the Eagle, but they deceived themselves. It is true that I was well thought of and caressed at the Emperor's court, and I endeavoured to keep on good terms with them, to enable me to do the service of my Prince [Pope Julius III.]; but rest assured that I wish more weal to the most insignificant Italian baron than to King Philip or to the Emperor, nor ever have I, nor ever shall I wish for anything but the service of God, the conservation of the See Apostolic, and the welfare of Italy.

"But you must know that the Pope, who has a mind to break with France, and wishes to cloak this evil, as he did the late war, with the religion, says that he sent the Legates to make peace, which would be an infinite advantage to Christendom, the Pope choosing to believe that those Kings will renounce their individual passions and interests. He says, moreover, that the one who shall fail to make peace will have to give account of it to God and to the world; his Holiness wishing it to be understood that King Philip would do well to accede to this, and refer his disputes to him. The Pope also wanted me to write to his Majesty to that effect, which I will not do, because I see the drift of the matter clearly, nor will I be the cause of greater ruin. I am well aware that other persons have not failed to write, but, poor friar as I am, my letters would perhaps produce more effect than those of many other persons. God forbid, however, that I should sin against the common weal, for the Pope has no other object in view than to persuade the world that Philip has done everything in favour of the peace, which failed owing to the King of France, against whom he will then have some pretence for declaring war. When his Holiness complained to me of the French, I told him that great patience must be had with them, as they would easily withdraw their obedience from the Church, which is notorious even to his enemies; and I quoted the reply made to me by Charles V. when, by order of Julius III., I showed him a letter from his Holiness in which he lamented French interference in the affairs of Parma, showing that he had a mind to break with the King, and deprive him of his Crown. The Emperor rejoined, 'Father Nuncio,' (for thus did he call me, as I was not yet Cardinal) 'I ought for my own interest to counsel the Pope to do the worst he can against the King of France, but for the good of the See Apostolic, I tell you that the French are madmen, and that should the Pope molest them, they will change sides and alienate themselves from the Church, nor will they ever again return to it. I can break and make peace with them easily, because thus have we done hitherto, and so shall we do for the future, adapting ourselves to the times; but if these madmen once break with the Pope, they will never again come to an agreement, and the Church will lose that kingdom.'

"The Pope listened attentively to this example and expected me to make the conclusion, which I would not do, wishing it to be made by his Holiness, who answered me that the French were light, and changed sides easily."

My secretary answered the Cardinal of Fano, that nothing but

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good offices for the benefit of Italy and for the conservation of this Holy See could be expected from him; and his right reverend Lordship continued that he suspected King Philip would give a considerable pension to Cardinal Caraffa, and some trifle (*qualche cosetta*) to the brothers, with a promise of Modena and Reggio, to induce the Pope to join the Dukes of Florence and Parma in making war on the Duke of Ferrara; the King taking his advantage elsewhere, and, moreover, getting from the Pope the personality of deceased ecclesiastics (*le spoglie*), worth 500,000 crowns, the half fruits amounting to 600,000, the tenths, which are 300,000, and "*la cruciata*" 200,000.

The Cardinal then proceeded to ponder the preparations of Sultan Soliman, saying that he fears "the Lord God will prosper him for our sins, and that the Papal States will run very great danger, should the Pope break with the French, because their fleet will join the Turkish one, and they knowing, as they do, the necessities of our fortresses, and in what condition they are, most especially Civitavecchia, which they garrisoned for so long a while, making those bastions, we should soon be deprived by them of some important place, which may God of His mercy avert, and inspire him who can remedy it with a better mind."

This discourse proceeding from a Cardinal of authority, and who is reputed to know the world, I deemed it my duty to write it to your most excellent Lordships, by so much the more, (as written by me in the public letters) because Cardinal Pacheco confers with the Pope daily for three or four hours, his authority with his Holiness increasing more and more; and yesterday Pacheco said to the "Camerlengo" [Guido Ascanio Sforza] that this would be the moment to do something for King Philip's service, as the Pope, owing to the detention of his great-nephews, is angry with the King of France; to which Sforza replied that not knowing what resolve the King Catholic might form with Cardinal Caraffa, he would not interfere, lest it displease his Majesty.

The Cardinal of Fano also said, "I will never counsel King Philip to make the Pope break with France, because such a rupture could not yield him any profit, his Holiness not having the means to give his Catholic Majesty either money, victuals, troops, or ammunition. It suffices King Philip to have the Pope for his friend, as also to give him repute, and, moreover, to obtain some favour in his own territories, and facility for raising money there; but should the King intend otherwise, he will never have my vote, as I am not so much his servant as to forget that I am a Christian, an Italian, and a Cardinal. I will not witness the ruin of this See, through its losing France. Pacheco is a Spaniard, and has little love for Rome; I do not know what he is negotiating, and were I to mention any particulars I might tell a lie, but in fact his proceedings render me suspicious. I have spoken with you confidentially, pray his Lordship the Ambassador to keep the whole to himself."

Rome, 15th January 1558.

[*Italian.*]

1558. Jan. 20. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

1146. MICHIEL SURIAN, Venetian Ambassador with King Philip, to the DOGE and SENATE.

On the 16th, *the Spaniard Don Juan de Aiala arrived, being followed by Master Basset, the Englishman who was sent by the Queen to give King Philip the sure advice of her being pregnant* (per dar l'avviso certo al Serenissimo Re del suo esser gravida). *They both left London on the* 10*th, and being impeded by the bad weather, and by the difficulty of the voyage, did not arrive sooner. They report that on that day the* 10*th and not previously, the news of the loss of Calais was received in England, and it is strange* (et è gran cosa) *that such important intelligence should scarcely have been conveyed in three days, whereas the passage is usually made in one. They having left so immediately after the receipt of the news are unable to know what took place in the kingdom, either good or bad, merely saying that the Queen, when she heard it, determined to make every possible effort to recover the place, and that besides the ships now ready to put to sea to succour it, and the troops which were being mustered, it will be reinforced by the greatest amount the country can raise; and with the opportunity afforded by the session of Parliament, Her Majesty will obtain any sum of money that may be required to that effect.*

In the meanwhile the French are under Guisnes, battering it, and certain persons who know the state of that fortress believe that by this time they have taken it, though of this there is no certain advice; but it is very evident that the ministry here, (questi signori) *have not much hope of its being able to hold out, although it has as many soldiers as the place can hold, part English and part Walloons, numbering in all upwards of* 600 (sic) *men.* The Duke of Savoy will go to St. Omer, which is very near at hand, but he cannot take the field so immediately, having no troops; it being also said that the Count de Meghen† is gone towards Namur, and if able to muster at least a body of horse he will invade France, to cause suspicion there, and at least, if possible, to make some diversion; but the cavalry which was to come from Germany, will not be ready so soon as was hoped and the Duke of Brunswick, who had the charge of raising them, finds it difficult to get together the number required, because the French commissioners give earnest money to all they can get, and as they promise unusually high pay, troops flock from all parts to serve them. Such is the state of affairs at present, and with regard to pecuniary supply, which is everything, they encounter so many difficulties that hitherto they have scarcely been able to raise from one person and another, at exorbitant interest, one hundred thousand ducats, part of which is being sent to St. Omer and to those confines to give a little sop* (un poco di intertenimento) *to the troops in garrison there, who have served for many months without being paid. To procure larger supplies, his Majesty will sell what he can of his revenues; and Tomaso de Marino, the Ambassador from Genoa, told me he is in treaty to purchase certain estates in the kingdom, [of*

* In a despatch dated Brussels 26th January, the garrison of Guisnes is said to have been 1,500 strong.

† Charles de Brimen (see the late Sir William Hackett's Index to Foreign Calendar, "Mary").

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Naples] *and perhaps the Duchy of Bari, on condition of disbursing half the price in ready money; the other half being placed to the account of his* (*Marino's*) *old creditors.*

The Count de Feria has not yet departed for England, because the Spanish fleet with which he is to cross has been quite shattered by two late most violent storms, so that of the seven ships which formed it, two foundered on the sandbanks; but he will soon depart, and has already sent some of his retinue towards Zealand. In the meanwhile the Duke of Alva will arrive, he being expected in a couple of days.

The Legate Caraffa has been, with the King about the negotiation of peace, and sent me word that his Majesty took time to think about it. The King's confessor told me, that several letters about this peace have passed between him and the French King's confessor, who, so long back as when the army was at Han, was the first to invite him to do so, assuring him that King Henry was most excellently inclined, and that the past disturbances were caused by the ministers, and with this opportunity the business had been already set forward, but for the last few days the confessor has no further advice from that friar; so it is supposed that this recent capture of Calais has perhaps made the King of France change his opinion.

Brussels, 20th January 1558.

[*Italian, partly in cipher; the portions in italics deciphered by Signor Luigi Pasini.*]

Jan. 22. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

1147. MICHIEL SURIAN, Venetian Ambassador with King Philip, to the DOGE and SENATE.

Advices have now arrived that the French gave the assault at Guisnes and were repulsed with loss, many of them being killed, which news is the more agreeable, as it was but little expected, because a report circulated that the town had been abandoned, the troops having withdrawn into the castle, which, being small, is not considered strong. It is true that the site assists the place greatly, for it is surrounded by marshes in every direction, except where it has been battered and stormed, and there the defenders have diligently (*per industria*) secured it with trenches and other earthworks (*ripari*), so that it was able to resist the shock of the enemy. *All the ministers here, nevertheless, have more fear of losing the place, than hope of maintaining it, although, besides the English and Walloon soldiery within,* 50 *Spaniards made good their entry, out of* 100 *who went to succour it, the remainder having been prevented by the enemy. But the way to defend the place would be to have a body of troops with which to harass the enemy, and to that effect the Duke of Savoy is gone to St. Omer, where he is to muster the native* (*militia?*) *cavalry commanded by Count d'Egmont,* which neither from its number nor its quality can be held in much account, and three regiments of Germans, together with some companies of Spaniards and Walloons, but although the companies are*

* Lamoral Count d'Egmont, Prince de Gavres. (*See* the late Sir William Hackett's Index to Foreign Calendar, "Mary.")

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many, the troops are few, as they are half empty; and most stringent proclamations have been made lately, for every one enrolled as a soldier, be they cavalry or infantry, to be within a certain time at his appointed company under pain of capital punishment. They are still expecting the English to cross the Channel, and it is said that very great provision will be made in that kingdom, but it is not yet known when they will come over; and the freshest advices thence, dated the 14th, arrived two days ago, the impediments on their passage, from contrary weather, and from the enemy, having detained them, but I hear from certain persons who have received letters to this effect, that the English will not cross until the weather become mild (fin che non si indolcisse il tempo), *which might easily be true, as those folks* (quella gente), *from their nature, hold any hardship* (incommodità), *however slight it may be, in great account, so that unless some other better provision is made, the French would have time to fortify themselves in Calais at their pleasure, continuing the attack on Guisnes, and attempting some other one; for the weather, although rather cold, continues so fine, that better could not be desired, nor more to the purpose of those who have to undertake any enterprise. This is all I can learn about the provision made by this side and the progress of the French, but the advices received here are often tardy and uncertain, and the Calais undertaking* (la impresa di Cales) *had been public throughout France long before it was attempted, but so great was the care taken by the French not to let any notice of it arrive here, that they occupied the place before it was known that they had the design upon it.*

Brussels, 22nd January 1558.

[*Italian, partly in cipher; the portion in italics deciphered by Signor Luigi Pasini.*]

Jan. 22. Original Letter Book, Venetian Archives.

1148. BERNARDO NAVAGERO, Venetian Ambassador in Rome, to the DOGE and SENATE.

On Tuesday the Pope went to mass in St. Peter's, having been in chapel at vespers on Monday, on account of the new solemnity of St. Peter's Chair (*Cathedra*) in Rome. After mass he gave a dinner to the Cardinals and Ambassadors, the banquet being as grand and costly as any that has been made since many years. The French ambassador, who was in chapel, did not remain for the dinner, which induced many remarks; and talking with me whilst we were waiting for the Pope, he said that amongst the many benefits derived by his Holiness [from the French], were the fortifications raised at Civitavecchia, where two thousand men of his most Christian Majesty's fleets placed it in its present state, nor do others know as much as the French about that site and fortress.

On rising from table, the Pope and Cardinals assembled in congregation, where his Holiness preached a sermon on this See of Rome (*sopra questa cathedra*), passing very frequently to exhortations for the Cardinals to lead good lives, and to set a good example to the rest of the world. He spoke about the universal peace, which he had sent to treat; and also of the Turkish fleet, saying that everybody must have an eye (*havesse li occhi*) to their

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own affairs, and that he should have provision made at Civitavecchia and Ancona. A personage in authority, and who understands business, says he does not comprehend what provisions can be made, without money, without troops, without ammunition, and without bread; that the garrison of Paliano is creditor for four pay-rates (*quattro paghe*); that the reverend Agostini, who has been appointed Nuncio to the King of the Romans, does not depart, because they are unable to find the 1,500 crowns required by him; and from the same authentic quarter it is heard *that the Pope already commences speaking disrespectfully* (a parlar poco honoratamente) *of the King of France, and of the Duke of Ferrara, accusing the latter and the Guise family of counselling the detention of the Caraffa children, by so much the more as the Cardinal of Lorraine was the person who wrote the note;* also that in the kingdoms of Sicily and Naples the Imperialists were making provision against the Turkish fleet; that on the evening before last a Neapolitan gentleman passed through Rome on his way to King Philip, to give account to him of the affairs of Bari, and that the Duchy had been taken possession of in his Majesty's name; that Ascanio Caracciolo had letters from the Duke of Alva, dated Augsburg the 4th, saying he hoped to reach Brussels in eight or ten days, and this same intelligencer was of opinion that until he arrived there King Philip would form no decision about Cardinal Caraffa's demands.

Yesterday, before daybreak, the Bishop of Terracina [Ottaviano Rovera] arrived here from Brussels, having been sent by Cardinal Caraffa, and was followed shortly afterwards by a courier from France.

The Duke of Paliano told my secretary that the Bishop left King Philip's court on the 6th, with letters from his brother the Cardinal, telling him of his Majesty's excellent will towards peace, and towards the Reformation [of the Church], and also with regard to the private interests of his family, though as yet they had come to no conslusion. That the courier despatched by Cardinal Triulci on the 10th brought letters announcing that he had been honourably received, and well greeted by the most Christian King; that in the matter of the peace, fair words were given him in general terms; and with regard to the lads (*i putti*) he was told of the intention to send them, but had not yet got the licence (*la licentia*), although the French ambassador here told the Duke of Paliano yesterday that they had had leave, which by these last advices is known to be untrue. This confirms the Duke's opinion that these advices are composed here to cajole them, and that the like may be said of the marriage to be proposed to him by Don Francesco da Este.*

The Legate Triulci also writes that on the 9th his Majesty heard that on the 7th his army had taken the castle of Calais by storm, and that the town was treating a capitulation which had not yet been received; that the King had gone to church on foot to return

* Both France and Spain were tempting the Caraffas with matrimonial alliances; a French heiress was proposed for Paliano's only son; and King Philip's adherents, the Farneses, seemed inclined to give the Prince of Parma in marriage to the Duke's eldest daughter, Donna Antonia Caraffa.

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thanks to His Divine Majesty for so great a victory. *The Duke added, "This is good news for the See Apostolic and for the Signory of Venice, it being for the benefit of Italy that the affairs of those Princes should be counterbalanced* (contrapesate), *and that they should break each other's heads in those countries over there* (et che si diano sopra la testa in quei paesi di là) *until they tire themselves, as then some agreement might be hoped for; and, to tell you my secret opinion, I am most extremely glad of it, having always wished the Pope not to incline more to one side than to the other."*

A congregation was held this morning in the apartments of the Cardinal of Pisa [Scipione Rebiba], which was attended by two other Cardinals of the Inquisition, the Bishop of Terracina [Ottaviano Rovera] being present, to report what Cardinal Caraffa had done at the court [of King Philip] in the matter of Cardinal Pole, which was one of the principal causes of said Bishop's coming hither.

Rome, 22nd January 1558.

[*Italian.*]

Jan. 23. Original Letter Book, Venetian Archives. (1st letter.)

1149. MICHIEL SURIAN, Venetian Ambassador with King Philip, to the DOGE and SENATE.

These States, who were convoked about pecuniary supply, have given their answer, which, although not entirely to the satisfaction of the King, was ratified, as His Majesty did not choose to give opportunity for longer delay, and especially because, three or four months hence, he can again convoke the States, and make such fresh demand as required by the events of the war. The decision is that during eight months the States will pay 60 ensigns of infantry and 8,000 cavalry, at the rate of five crowns per month for each horse, and two crowns and a half for each foot soldier; but as troops are not to be had at that price, the number of men will be diminished, so as to give them higher pay. The States will also pay 25 ships in these seas as long as the war lasts, and besides will give 800,000 crowns ready money, on condition that the soldiers at the frontiers, and those of the territory, who are creditors for many months in arrear, be paid; and to raise this sum they will increase all the duties, and sell the surplus, which will yet more augment the price of commodities, although it is already exorbitant beyond measure. By this undertaking Flanders contributes three-sixths, Brabant two-sixths, Holland and Zealand, each, one-sixth. The counties of Artois, Hainault, Namur, and Luxemburg are exempted, they being frontier counties, and therefore suffering more than the others from the ravages of the war, but they likewise will contribute something, it being already said that they will defray the cost of the ammunition. Friesland, by its ancient privilege, is exempt, and does not contribute with these provinces, but will however give 100,000 or 150,000 crowns as usual in necessitous times, and Guelders will do the like. *But all these contributions will be somewhat later than required by existing circumstances, though they do not fail to solicit them with all possible diligence.*

The Duke of Alva arrived here yesterday, being met by all the Lords of the court, both Spaniards, Italians, and of these provinces,

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with the single exception of Don Ruy Gomez, who from indisposition, real or feigned, did not go out of doors; so that the King went to mass, accompanied solely by two gentlemen of his Majesty's chamber.

The Count de Feria departed the day before yesterday for England, and went to embark at Dunkirk, because the Spanish fleet was unable to put to sea immediately, having suffered terribly (*sinistramente*) in two violent storms that took place lately.

Brussels, 23rd January 1558.

[*Italian, partly in cipher; the portions in italics deciphered by Signor Luigi Pasini.*]

Jan. 23. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives. (2nd letter.)

1150. MICHIEL SURIAN, Venetian Ambassador with King Philip, to the DOGE and SENATE.

At this hour, 10 *p.m., advice is come that Guisnes is taken.*

Brussels, 23rd January 1558.

[*Italian, in cipher; deciphered by Signor Luigi Pasini.*]

Jan. 25. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

1151. MICHIEL SURIAN, Venetian Ambassador with King Philip, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The Cardinal Legate despatched a courier to France, having obtained a reply from King Philip about the peace, purporting that His Majesty will not be averse to it, provided fair terms be proposed to him, but he shows himself more difficult since the taking of Calais, lest it be supposed that its loss has alarmed him. The Legate Caraffa exhorts Cardinal Triultio to perform a like office with the King of France, but does not enter into particulars, because he chooses to wait for further assurance from France that King Henry is desirous of negotiating the peace. The father confessor is also writing in conformity with what he wrote heretofore to the French King's confessor. The peace is apparently desired by Cardinal Caraffa, though I hear on good authority he is endeavouring to effect the continuation of the war against Ferrara. I am told that the affair is to be decided today in King Philip's council chamber.

Brussels, 25th January 1558.

[*Italian, partly in cipher; the portions in italics deciphered by Signor Luigi Pasini.*]

Jan. 26. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

1152. MICHIEL SURIAN, Venetian Ambassador with King Philip, to the DOGE and SENATE.

I announced the capture of Guisnes, which was so well defended, that had the like been done by Calais, that fortress would never have been lost. Guisnes was garrisoned by 1,500 *men,* the greater part of them English and Walloons, and some few Spaniards. The Captain, Lord Grey,† an Englishman, showed incredible valour,*

* In a letter dated 20th January, the garrison is said to have numbered 600 men and upwards.

† "Grey, William, 13th Lord (of Wilton), English lieutenant at Guisnes." See the late Sir William Hackett's Index to Foreign Calendar, "Mary."

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for although he had been badly wounded in the assault, he nevertheless with very great courage stood firm to the defence, until be found himself fainting; and even then, rather to avoid alarming the soldiers than from any other personal consideration, he had himself carried all bleeding (tutto sanguinoso) *into a house near at hand; but scarcely had he got there, when he was told that the enemy had taken the ravelin, and were attacking the bastions* (li ripari); *then, half dead as he was, he made his men take him on a chair to the scene of action* (al loco del contrasto), *where he so increased the courage and resolution* (ostinatione) *of the soldiery, that the French were doubtful of victory; but the assault becoming more vigorous, Lord Grey, seeing that all his men were worsted* (maltratatti), *and that there was no remedy, demanded terms, and it having been granted him that his soldiers might go out free with their arms and what they could carry, he surrendered himself prisoner; the glory he thus obtained exceeding the infamy of those who, through negligence or treachery* (ò per inganno), *lost Calais, which is close to Guisnes.*

The French are said to be marching upon Gravelines, a place which, as written by me, cannot be considered very secure, and should it be lost, they might ravage Flanders without opposition. There would be a secure remedy, if in the town, which is very large but not strong, they were to put a considerable body of troops for its defence, to prevent its being occupied by the enemy, but there are no other troops embodied (in esser) *than those of the Duke of Savoy, in number from* 8,000 *to* 10,000 *infantry, including Germans, Walloons and Spaniards; and these would suffice for this purpose, but the Duke will perhaps beware of shutting himself up in that place with all his forces, which would too much imperil his own person, and leave the territory at the mercy of the enemy; nor has any farther decision been made here about this matter, save that everything is referred to the said Duke* (*nor do I know what counsel he may have*), *to whom they have sent* 200,000 *crowns, obtained from the merchants, under promise of these provinces.*

With regard to the affairs of the court, the Duke of Alva came, as written by me, but was not met by Don Ruy Gomez, who was, or pretended to be, indisposed, and is now well. The Duke went to visit him, a compliment which was held in very great account, and the dependents of Don Ruy Gomez go proclaiming it (lo vanno publicando), *but nevertheless one cannot believe that between these two such great rivals, there can be any true union. The Duke has told the King that he has served much, and is now old, and has need of repose, and wishes, with his Majesty's leave, to pass the rest of his life on his estate of Alva, although Alva no longer exists, thus implying that he has sold and mortgaged everything for his Majesty's service, so he requires to be assisted, and aspires to the Duchy of Bari. He very openly promised Marco Ascanio Colonna, Ascanio della Cornia, and the Count di Bagno, to have their estates restored to them, but the Legate Caraffa seems of a contrary opinion, most especially about the affairs of Ascanio della Cornia, nor do I know how these disagreements will be adjusted. As yet the Duke has not been to visit the right reverend Legate, although on two*

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days, one after the other, he sent to say he would go to him, and the Cardinal waited for him, but he never went, so Caraffa considers himself affronted.

I went to visit his Excellency, and was received with kind words, and after the first compliments, he commenced talking about the affairs of the world, and of the need which Christendom would have of a good peace, and he said what has always been said, that the King will embrace it, when assured of it's security, and if the terms be fair (siano honeste); *and it seemed to me that he wished to say something farther, but the Archbishop of Toledo* having come to visit him, that conversation was interrupted.*

Brussels, 26th January 1558.

[*Italian, partly in cipher; the portion in italics deciphered by Signor Luigi Pasini.*]

Jan. 26. Original Letter Book, Venetian Archives.

1153. BERNARDO NAVAGERO, Venetian Ambassador in Rome, to the DOGE and SENATE.

Was told by Don Francesco of Este that the Pope said that he had never desired anything but peace, to effect which he had sent a legate to each of the two kings; that he hoped in the Lord God and in the goodness of the nature of these princes to obtain this his wish, as he knew it to be the sole remedy for the ruin of Christendom, as news had been received of the great forces and preparations of Sultan Soliman. Don Francesco replied that he had never spoken about peace with his Holiness, because King Henry charged him, unless the Pope broached the topic, to be silent on the subject, but if his Holiness spoke about it, Don Francesco was to assure him that the King will never refuse fair terms of peace, and that even should some difficulty remain, he would refer it entirely to his Holiness.

These words quite soothed the Pope, who embraced him again and again, resuming his praises of King Henry; and with regard to the importance of the taking of Calais, the Pope said that perhaps the Lord God had permitted it as an equilibrium to the late victories of King Philip, so that these kings, being almost on a par, might the more easily agree.

Rome, 26th January 1558.

[*Italian.*]

Jan. 28. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

1154. MICHIEL SURIAN, Venetian Ambassador with King Philip, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The King has been rather ailing of late, his whole frame, most especially his shoulders and legs aching, so the physicians, thinking it was a cold, did not pay much attention to it; but the night before last his Majesty was attacked by a violent fever and head-ache, which lasted all yesterday and throughout the past night, so that he had no rest until towards daybreak, nor could he even lie down at

* Bartolomeo Carranza de Miranda, who was consecrated at Brussels by the Bishop of Arras in the church of the Dominicans, on the 27th February 1558. (See my note to a letter addressed to him by Cardinal Pole on the 7th December 1557.)

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full length (*star disteso*) from the great pain in his thighs; until when he was obliged to continue walking about, and he then at length took a little rest. Subsequently, this morning, having less pain, and being almost without fever, the physicians bled him, and he apparently derived much benefit from it, and until this present hour of nightfall he has felt no more pain. Some of the physicians are of opinion that this was an ephemeral malady (*una ephemera*), and they are doing everything possible to prevent it from assuming another form.

Having written thus far on the 27th, and the courier not having yet departed, I will add that neither to-day, nor last night, has the King felt further pain, with the exception of a slight uneasy sensation in his legs, but much less than he had, so should he not have fever to-night, as is hoped, he will be quite free from the malady.

The French have not yet left Guisnes, and will dismantle it, which will have greatly facilitated the provisions to be made for the defence of Gravelines and those other frontiers; about which provisions all I can learn is that the Spaniards are expecting horse and foot from several quarters to strengthen the camp of the Duke of Savoy, who, of the troops now with him, has quartered part in Gravelines and part in Bourbourg, between Bourbourg and Guisnes, but it is not strong, and according to report the Duke, when he has a greater amount of troops, will encamp between one place and the other.

Brussels, 28th January 1558.

[*Italian.*]

Jan. 29. Original Letter Book, Venetian Archives.

1155. BERNARDO NAVAGERO, Venetian Ambassador in Rome, to the DOGE and SENATE.

Some persons have said that the Bishop of Terracina spoke (in congregation) about the affairs of the Cardinal of England [Pole], and of Cardinal Morone, but the particulars are unknown; though several congregations have lately been held by the four Cardinals appointed for Cardinal Morone's case, with a junta consisting of the Cardinals Araceli [Frate Clemente Dolera] and Trani [Bernardo Scoto]; and a Cardinal who can know the fact says Araceli was present to enable him to give account of the proceedings to King Philip's confessor,* who is a friar of his Order of St. Francis, most especially about those relating to Cardinal Pole, it being known that his Majesty defers greatly to the said confessor.

Rome, 29th January 1558.

[*Italian.*]

Jan. 29. Original Letter Book, Venetian Archives.

1156. BERNARDO NAVAGERO, Venetian Ambassador in Rome, to the CHIEFS of the COUNCIL OF TEN.

The Cardinal Alessandrino [Michele Ghislieri, afterwards Pope Pius V.] sent me the enclosed today,† and the agent of the Bishop

* By name Francisco Bernardo de Fresneda. (*See* Foreign Calendar, "Mary," pp. 364, 365.)

† Apparently some document, not found, about the charges brought against Vettor Soranzo.

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of Bergamo* tells me that he cannot ascertain that any farther steps have been taken against him, nor has he as yet been cited "*ad sententiam.*" *The cardinals of whom I write in the public letters, that they said many things about the Bishop of Terracina are Fano* [*Bertano*] *and Sforza. The "Camerlengo" also said that the Pope cannot do less than give Paliano, because Carbone, who is in the citadel, swore he would consign it to whom the King shall order him, provided the Duke receive suitable compensation from his Majesty; the which compensation, in case of difficulty, is to be referred to your Serenity's arbitration.*

Rome, 29th January 1558.

[*Italian.*]

Feb. 2. **1157.** CARDINAL POLE to KING PHILIP.

MS. St. Mark's Library, Cod. XXIV., cl. X., p. 193. The Count de Feria has delivered to Pole the King's letters in reply to his former ones, and communicated to him the cause of his coming, which greatly comforted the Queen; the members of the Council likewise being much satisfied with what the Count communicated to them by commission from his Majesty. It may be hoped that our Lord God will, after these adverse events, console their Majesties with greater prosperity. The Queen's health, both of mind and body, continues good, notwithstanding the toil and trouble undergone by her for the public need, together with her constant solicitude about the King's affairs, in which she perceives the great and especial care taken of him by the divine goodness.

London, 2nd February 1558.

[*Italian.*]

Feb. 2. **1158.** CARDINAL POLE to CARDINAL CARLO CARAFFA.

MS. St. Mark's Library, Cod. XXIV., cl. X., p. 193, recto e verso. Has received from Count de Feria the letter written by Caraffa in reply to the one Pole sent him by his auditor. Feria also saluted him in Caraffa's name, and for both these offices Pole thanks him much. Is greatly pleased to hear that Caraffa is so well satisfied with the King, as Pole always hoped would be the case, and that a yet greater and firmer union will take place between the Pope and King Philip, which he prays God to grant Christendom. With regard to the affair of the peace, in like manner as Pole would willingly suggest anything that could effect the common weal which he heartily desires, so is he certain that Caraffa will have found the King, and will continue to find him, most ready and well disposed, notwithstanding the disturbances which the enemy of the human race has never ceased nor ever will cease raising, to prevent so necessary a benefit; but the Pope may always enjoy the satisfaction of having tried every way, and performed every paternal office to attain this end. Humbly kissing Caraffa's hands, Pole recommends himself to his good favour (*buona grazia*), praying him to salute in his name the "Marchese,"

* Vettor Soranzo was "deprived" of the See of Bergamo for heresy, by Paul IV., in April 1558, as recorded in Foreign Calendar, "Mary," p. 370; but the Pope did not get possession of his person, and he died at Venice.

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Caraffa's brother, whose coming he greatly regrets has been prevented owing to the evil nature of the present times.

London, 2nd February 1558.

[*Italian.*]

Feb. 4. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

1159. GIOVANNI MICHIEL, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The King returned from Calais to-day, M. de Guise remaining there for the distribution of the army in garrison. The custody of the place is intrusted to M. de Termes, with 3,000 infantry, one part Germans, and the rest Gascons, with a number of sappers (*guastatori*) who are now fortifying the tower called "Ris Banck," at the entrance of the harbour, the circuit of which tower they intend to double, to secure the harbour towards the sea, and on the mainland towards Guisnes, from which point it was cannonaded. For the present they will do nothing else round the town, but repair the castle where it was stormed. Guisnes and Hammes are being razed completely.

Of the army, one half of the Switzers will be disbanded, as well as some companies of Grisons, with whom they are less well pleased; in their stead, 6,000 fresh troops will come. The Germans will be retained, and increased by a re-inforcement of 20,000 more, orders having been already given for 12,000; and the "Blacksmiths" (*ferraruoli*), now in number 1,000, are to be increased to 5,000, each man is to receive 10 crowns and a quarter monthly.

During the King's stay at Calais, he rewarded many of those who in these engagements had rendered him the greatest service, and above all the others Marshal Strozzi, whom he has made a member of the privy council, a grade highly esteemed, as it is the first after that of councillor in the "council affairs," and he has promised him that from the first vacant church benefices his brother [Lorenzo] the Cardinal shall be provided with an annual rental of 25,000 francs, the Cardinal of Lorraine having offered to charge himself especially with this matter. Besides this the King gave him certain confiscated estates lapsed to the Crown, to the amount of 15,000 crowns, this having been effected by the Queen, who has also married his daughter to the eldest son of the Count of Tenda, Governor of Provence, and brother-in-law of the Constable. The Duke of Guise made him a present (*le è stato fatto un presente*) of the Governor of Guisnes,* for whose ransom certain French gentlemen have already promised Strozzi from 12,000 to 15,000 crowns, provided they can exchange him for their brother M. de la Rochefoucault, who was captured at the time of the rout of the Constable. By universal attestation, he is in truth deemed very worthy of all these gifts, for to him is attributed the management of this undertaking

* William Grey, thirteenth Baron of Wilton. "He long continued a prisoner until he was redeemed for 20,000 marks, which much weakened his estate. On this occasion he was necessitated to sell his ancient castle of Wilton-upon-Wye, which was bought by his nephew, Charles Brydges, second son of John, first Lord Chandos, who died 1619." (Collins, vol. 3, p. 343, ed. London, 1812.)

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from first to last, in which he has comported himself with much prudence and judgment, and with daring when needed, regardless at all times either of danger or fatigue. To M. d'Aumale, brother of the Duke de Guise, the King has firmly promised the generalship in Piedmont, in lieu of the Marshal de Brissac, who is to come hither, and will serve with another grade. The Duke de Nemours* has been given the generalship of the light cavalry, which the Duke d'Aumale will resign when he goes to his government; and to the Marquis d'Elbœuf, the third brother of the Duke de Guise, and to the Prince de Condé, the brother of the King of Navarre, his Majesty has promised other principal grades which are not yet published.

The personages who returned with the King from Calais inform me that the attack on Gravelines, St. Omer, and New Hesdin was abandoned, because they being provided with strong garrisons sent thither lately, there would have been great risk of defeat; and Lord Grey de Wilton told them, that before the appearance of the army under Calais, he and Lord Wentworth despatched five messengers to King Philip, and never received any reply whatever, which totally disheartened them (*che li levò totalmente l'animo*), seeing that from that quarter not only had they no assistance, but not even the promise of it, in contradiction of what was said, that they had not chosen to accept the garrisons (*presidij*) offered to them.

Orders have been sent into Britanny and Normandy for the preparation of as many ships as possible, and to keep good guard in the towns and places on the sea, in case of any sudden attack by the English, it being published here that many vessels have been embargoed in their ports, a proof of their intention to put to sea.

Paris, 4th February 1558.

[*Italian.*]

Feb. 5. Original Letter Book, Venetian Archives.

1160. BERNARDO NAVAGERO, Venetian Ambassador in Rome, to the DOGE and SENATE.

It is said here, on the authority of advices from Flanders dated the 16th ult., that King Philip was making great preparation against the French, and had sent the Count de Feria to England, Don Ruy Gomez to Spain, Don Juan Manrique to Germany, and the Marquis of Pescara to Italy. It is also reported that the King of Bohemia has declared himself a Lutheran. Letters from Cardinal Caraffa, dated the 8th December, purport that the news from Calais had greatly disturbed the affair of the peace, and that the King was solely intent on providing for the war.

Letters of the 19th and 21st, from the French Court, state that Guisnes was parleying, the Duke de Guise having stormed a bulwark, and by a letter of the 23rd it was heard that the place had been taken by assault. The Duke of Paliano says that his son and nephew have taken leave of the King, and that they were to depart

* Jacques de Savoie (*see* the late Sir William Hackett's Index to Foreign Calendar, Mary.)

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in two days for the site of embarkation. The French Ambassador here has made constant rejoicings with bonfires and artillery for the taking of Calais.

The Pope appointed the audience of Cardinal Puteo and the Polish ambassador for Tuesday afternoon, but his Holiness went to sleep so late that he could not give it them, wherefore the ambassador complains of having been two months without obtaining audience, at which he wished to take leave to return to his King. The ambassador from Portugal makes no less a complaint, saying that since last September he has had in his house two couriers who came from that kingdom, nor can he send them back, as he is not able to speak to the Pope. The ambassador from Florence is surprised that having to speak to the Pope, besides many other affairs of importance, about two Ragusean ships with grain, loaded at Scio, and containing both together some 40,000 bushels on which his Duke, at the Pope's request, laid an embargo at Leghorn, he (the ambassador) cannot have audience; so having lately had an express from the Duke charging him to settle this affair, as he can no longer detain the ships, he spoke about it to the Duke of Paliano, and at length had for answer that the Pope wanted the grain to supply the great need which this city and the whole of the Papal territory has of it; and so yesterday they sent on purpose to establish a corn market; which corn by the time it gets here will cost, the Florentine ambassador says, nearly nine crowns the "*rubbio*," and here in the meanwhile they are discussing the means whereby to find money to pay for it.

Yesterday, Consistory assembled, the Pope entering it at 2 p.m., having made the Cardinals wait six hours. Cardinal Saracino, who is a member of the Inquisition, proposed the deprivation of the Bishop of Limasol* for heresy, which will be effected at the next consistory.

Rome, 5th February 1558.

[*Italian.*]

Feb. 6. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives. (2nd letter.)

1161. GIOVANNI MICHIEL, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

When talking to the King about his journey, he said that having seen the site and condition of Calais and Guisnes, he was the more surprised at the acquisition of those fortresses, in one of which, meaning Calais, he said that had there been the number of soldiers required for the size of the place, which has need of not less than 4,000 men (the amount now there under M. de Termes), [they could not have been dislodged]; or had they been commanded by a person of experience and skilled in war (*et intendente de guerra*), even those few, who were not 400 fighting men (*huomini da fatione*), would in spite of their commander (*malgrado lui*) have given the enemy so much to do that they might have held out until the arrival of succour either from Flanders or

* Limasol, on the Island of Cyprus. The See was then held by a Venetian subject named Andrea Centani. (*See* Le Quien, column 1230.)

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England, nor could M. de Guise have intercepted it; his Majesty adding that had the capture of the place been delayed for another day, they must perforce have retreated and raised the siege, not only on account of the succour which had already made its appearance from England, but because on the morrow so terrible a storm arose that had the troops been outside the town instead of within it, great part of them would doubtless have been drowned, the retreat, with the loss of most of the artillery, being inevitable. The King then discussed all the mistakes committed by Lord Wentworth, of which, to avoid wearying your Serenity, who will have heard of part of them through my former letters, I will merely mention the following one, that he did not flood the fields as he could have done, because he did not choose to deprive himself of next summer's crops by swamping the sowed *possessioni et campi* to his own detriment, and that of the principal inhabitants of the town, through loss of the harvest.

His Majesty said, that if in the other place, Guisnes, in lieu of 800 Walloons and Flemings, there had been that amount of Spaniards or Englishmen, it never would have been lost, as the Flemings very soon retired into the citadel, and compelled Lord Grey to surrender, to obtain leave, as they did, to march out armed, but without colours or drums, and without any of their captains or officers; whilst all the English let themselves all be cut to pieces on the battery (*sulla batteria*), having for two consecutive days not only stood two assaults given them by the French, whom they repulsed bravely, killing many of them; so that, at the end, the whole praise rested with the Germans, who gave the third assault, and gained the town (*onde fu poi la laude tutta delli Thedeschi, che diedero il terzo assalto, et guadagnarono la terra*). To this his Majesty added, that to exculpate himself the Governor of Calais showed certain letters whereby he advised the Queen of England that, as he heard that the camp with M. de Guise was coming under the town, her Majesty should provide him with succour and assistance; and that she wrote back to him, he that being in such a place, she marvelled at his standing in fear of his own shadow, reproaching him openly with cowardice and want of spirit.

With this opportunity afforded by mention of the Queen of England, I asked the King what was heard about the movements there, and he said that a trumpet sent thither by M. de Termes, under pretence of accompanying certain Englishwomen, but in fact to obtain news, brought back word that at Dover he found the whole Privy Council, they having come from London; that much provision was being made, and that the Queen had created General, the Earl of Rutland, who must be very well known to me, I having been in England; that he was a young man from 33 to 34 years of age, with no other experience than that of having been general on the frontier of Scotland. The King added that the said Earl had sent a herald to M. de Guise to let him know that he should soon be at Dunkirk, on this side the Channel, so that they might see each other; and in the meanwhile he prayed him to give the herald an opportunity for speaking with Lord Grey, the Governor of Guisnes, to comfort and assure him on behalf of the Queen, that she considered herself no

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less well served by him, than she had been ill-served by Lord Wentworth, the Governor of Calais, and that she exhorted him to be of good cheer (*a star di buona voglia*). His Majesty continued with a laugh, "Look-ye what a proceeding this is! When was a crowned head ever known to send to proclaim to the enemy the esteem in which his captive subjects are held?—so that the persons in whose possession they are, may increase their ransom, as was done immediately by Marshal Strozzi, whose prisoner the said Governor is; for he at first demanded of him 7,000 crowns, and Grey offered 4,000 and a trifle more, which would have been accepted by Strozzi; but on hearing the herald's words, he said he added 10,000 crowns to Grey's ransom, because Grey being held in such account by the Queen, Strozzi was sure she would not look to 10,000 crowns more or less, to get him back."

With great zest did his Majesty tell me this and many other things already known, and would have told me more stories had we not been interrupted by the Legate, who came in like manner to congratulate him on his return.

Paris, 6th February, 1558.

[*Italian.*]

Feb. 8. Original Letter Book, Venetian Archives.

1162. BERNARDO NAVAGERO, Venetian Ambassador in Rome, to the DOGE and SENATE.

His Holiness said to me, "We are in daily expectation of advices from the Legates in France [Cardinal Triulzi] and Flanders [Cardinal Caraffa]. We believe that these lads of ours* are on their homeward journey, which we desire for the consolation of their father and mother, but yet more that we may be able to assume that perfect neutrality which becomes us, as we have had told, besides other things, to the most Christian King, who evinced displeasure at their leaving him, saying that it would look as if we meant to abandon him. We replied that even were we not to ask this of him, he ought to send us our great nephews in order to remove all suspicion from the King Catholic, and so that we might place ourselves in such a state of neutrality as becomes him who sits in this place where we are seated, in which case we might render service to him and to others. And we shall use the utmost diligence so as not to give reasonable cause to either of them to doubt us; we say reasonable, because we cannot prevent their suspicions, and are indeed certain that it will be impossible for us to act with such reserve as not to make it appear to both one and the other that we do something more for his enemy.

"It was our wish to be thus neutral at the commencement of our pontificate, to seek, as we are now seeking, the peace between them, and then to do some service to God concerning the Reformation, carrying out the conceits which we have had in our mind since a long while, nor can this be effected without a good peace; but the evil ministers of King Philip disturbed us at the very commencement

* The Pope's great nephews, then hostages in France, viz., the son of the Duke Paliano, and the son of Marquis Montebello.

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by waging war against us without any cause, and at the time when peace was offered us by Pirro dell' Offredo, whom we imprisoned, as you know, in the Castle, which brought such ruin on the Papal States, with risk of losing the kingdom of Naples, that in truth certain evil ministers and councillors of that King would deserve to be beheaded by him (*che quel Principe li facesse tagliar la testa*).

"By the grace of God we are now once more the common Father, and should our sins, and those of the people, not be such that His Divine Majesty, as we suspect, will choose to reform them with fire and sword, but make use of His infinite pity and mercy, which exceeds every iniquity, we hope, in a Council summoned here in Rome about the matter of the Reformation, to do a thing that will be accepted universally with much applause; as we also have been bishop-resident, and we know that the avidity with which everything is drawn to Rome has deprived the ordinary [spiritual authorities] of their privilege (*ha levata la libertà alli ordenarij*), by making many exemptions in favour of hospitals, confraternities, and companies, rendering them independent of the bishops; so if there is an incontinent priest (*un prete concubinario*) or a rascally chaplain, the bishop cannot lay hands on them, being told to abstain, the one being privileged under the patronage of St. Antonio, the other of Sto. Spirito, so that everything goes to ruin; nor could these provisions be made without the peace."

Rome, 8th February 1558.

[*Italian.*]

Feb. 12. Original Letter Book, Venetian Archives.

1163. BERNARDO NAVAGERO, Venetian Ambassador in Rome, to the DOGE and SENATE.

Being of opinion that in addition to what was divulged by the Duke of Paliano, this last courier despatched from Brussels by Cardinal Caraffa must have brought something more, I sent my secretary this morning to those places where events are communicated to me very confidentially, and they may be considered certain, coming as they do from those who know them. Letters have been shown from the most serene King Catholic, giving account of the loss of Calais,* and of the provisions which are being made by him for its recovery, the thing being of great importance to him, but much more so to the kingdom of England.

My secretary was told by his intelligencer† that the Duke of Alva gave him notice of his arrival at that Court on the 22nd; that he hoped the King would send Cardinal Caraffa hither satisfied. *That Marc' Antonio Colonna had written him a long autograph letter, telling him in conclusion, and this tée intelligencer thought important, that matters were proceeding so well that the Legate*

* This is the first mention made by Navagero of the loss of Calais; but in Foreign Calendar, "Mary," p. 361, it is seen, on the authority of Sir Edward Carne, that the Pope knew of it through Cardinal Triulzi, the Legate in France, on the 22nd January.

† In a letter addressed by Navagero to the Chiefs of the Ten under this same date, there is a ciphered paragraph telling them that this intelligencer was the "Camerlengo," Guido Ascanio Sforza.

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Caraffa would return satisfied with King Philip, and that he (Colonna) hoped to be able to come soon and serve his Majesty in Rome, which is a sign that he had hope of getting back his State. The intelligencer added, with regard to this matter, that the Bishop of Terracina is taking back to the Legate Caraffa the Pope's command to do everything for the State of Paliano to remain in the Caraffa family, but that should the King not choose to listen to this, Cardinal Caraffa is to comply with his Majesty's wishes, (faccia quello che vorrà Sua Maestà); *and, in conclusion, the Legate was to do in all matters whatever seemed to him in accordance with the Papal dignity and the advantage of his family.*

My secretary also heard from the same intelligencer* that his friends write to him [from Brussels], that on the 25th Cardinal Caraffa had been with the King, and came away very cheerful, saying, that he never speaks to his Majesty without remaining fully satisfied, and without the King's saying many things to him in praise of the individual who communicated what I am now writing, the Legate saying that his (Cardinal Sforza's) letters greatly benefited his business, and that he was therefore obliged to him for them. The Ambassadors of Portugal and Florence, although for the last three weeks they have been daily to the palace, could never obtain audience; *and the Florentine says the Pope is longing to draw the war into Italy, which, were he sage, would remain in Flanders; that this his wish might be realised to his detriment, and that he might get more of it than he wants, as no one will be found napping, although, so far as he can comprehend, his Holiness is expecting the Turkish fleet as anxiously as the Jews do the Messiah. It seems to me superfluous to remind your Serenity to keep secret certain things that I write you by reason of the prudence of the Senate, and for their country's sake, so I will say no more on the subject.*

Rome, 12th February 1558.

[*Italian.*]

Feb. 12. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

1164. MICHIEL SURIAN, Venetian Ambassador with King Philip, to the DOGE and SENATE.

After despatching my letter of the 6th,† *several concurrent advices were received, to the effect that the French on those frontiers were retiring to their fortresses and wished to rest the troops until May, they having suffered much from this weather; so the Duke of Savoy sent a courier to St. Omer to recall his attendants, as he does not expect to return any more into those parts for the present, although it seems that yesterday he changed his mind and gave it to be understood that he should come back in two or three days. Although towards Calais the French have put their troops into garrison, they nevertheless have not ceased to ravage this other quarter, and took a castle called Ruremonde* (Rermonti), *in the Duchy of Luxemburg, not a strong place. The French had also*

* Cardinal Sforza.
† Letter not found.

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plotted at Han, but were detected, and four Spanish soldiers, two light horse, and two grooms have been seized; some Canons of Cambrai have also been arrested on suspicion, and the guards at Valenciennes have been changed. M. de Lalain has gone thither with some "Blacksmith" cavalry (Feraroli), *of whom, however, they make little use, as they are insubordinate according to their custom. It is reported that M. de Vendôme* [*Antoine de Bourbon*] *has sent some foot and horse towards Bapaume on the Artois frontier. Provisioning is very slow, from the natural tardiness of the Spanish ministers, and from lack of money. It is heard from England that it having been proposed in Parliament to provide for the recovery of Calais, many members said that the times were so bad, that before undertaking a war which might be the ruin of the kingdom, the matter should be well considered; and that if the French have taken Calais, they thus took nothing from the English, but recovered what was their own; so should this opinion be that of the majority, but little assistance can be hoped for from those people. I have also heard that the King of Denmark threatens to make war on England, reviving certain old quarrels, but the truth is, that he is stimulated by the French, who sent an ambassador to King Christian to that effect; so what Don Ruy Gomez told me lately may be true, that France is moving the whole world.*

Brussels, 12th February 1558.

[*Italian, in cipher, deciphered by Signor Luigi Pasini.*]

Feb. 13. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

1165. MICHIEL SURIAN, Venetian Ambassador with King Philip, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The Legate Caraffa has been with the King, who spoke to him so kindly that he remained content and satisfied. I have heard it was settled not to give them Bari, nor any fortress.

Brussels, 13th February 1558.

[*Italian, in cipher, deciphered by Signor Luigi Pasini.*]

Feb. 13. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives. (2nd letter.)

1166. MICHIEL SURIAN, Venetian Ambassador with King Philip, to the DOGE and SENATE.

*The Prince of Orange departed yesterday to the Diet at Frankfort, by order of King Philip, as Prince of the Empire** (principal (sic) di imperio). *Many persons of the court are of opinion that he went to make the renunciation of the Imperial title to the King of the Romans, according to the order of the Emperor.*†

Brussels, 13th February 1558.

[*Italian, in cipher, deciphered by Signor Luigi Pasini.*]

Feb. 13. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives. (3rd letter.)

1167. MICHIEL SURIAN, Venetian Ambassador with King Philip, to the DOGE and SENATE.

Since the King's recovery he has attended incessantly to negotiations for peace with France.

* As Count of Nassau?

† *See* Preface to Part I. of this volume, p. xxxiii.

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The Constable has several times, and lastly through the Count de Feria, who visited him when going towards England, offered to conclude peace between his Majesty and the King of France. This proposal, although made frequently heretofore, was not taken into consideration until lately, as the Legate Caraffa is suspected, nor does it seem to these Lords that your Serenity shows such warmth as they could wish; so they have determined to treat the peace in this manner, knowing that in the whole council of the most Christian King there is no other member inclined to make peace, except the Constable; whereas the Duke de Guise and his dependants profess the contrary opinion. This resolution having been formed, the mode of carrying it out was discussed, and they talked of releasing the Constable, he giving security for two or three hundred thousand crowns, under promise that should peace not be made, he would return to prison; but this does not please, because should he fail to bring it about, he would pay the money rather than return to prison; so that they would have set at liberty a personage of such renown, whom they do not intend to release, unless the peace be made. They then thought of freeing him on "parole," thinking that this act of courtesy might profit more than the promise of money, though this likewise seems perilous. The third way is, to give him leave to send his son, who, being instructed by his father, might negotiate this business in France; but neither is this approved of, because the office performed by the Constable might be expected to prove of another sort than that of his son. As yet, therefore, I am unable to know what decision has been adopted, but am told they will make a forty days' truce, and in the meanwhile such ultimatum will be formed as most to the purpose. This having come to the knowledge of Cardinal Caraffa, it has made him very melancholy, it seeming to him that by taking the negotiation out of his hands, his honour suffers; and the courier whom he sent to France having been turned back a second time, he is now despatching thither the Bishop of Terracina, who arrived here from Rome yesterday evening, and he means to send him by way of Burgundy, that he may not be stopped as the courier was on these frontiers. His right reverend Lordship would wish thus to make believe that he has not been excluded from the negotiation, and that if anything is done, his authority will have assisted.

It is possible that regard for Sultan Soliman will render the French more difficult to condescend to a treaty of agreement.

Brussels, 13th February 1558.

[*Italian, in cipher, deciphered by Signor Luigi Pasini.*]

Feb. 18. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

1168. MICHIEL SURIAN, Venetian Ambassador with King Philip, to the DOGE and SENATE.

Since my last, the French on these frontiers have done nothing but retire into their towns, the cold and snow not allowing them to keep the field. This side, in the meanwhile, will have convenience to prepare either for their defence or for an attack on the enemy, but everything is done slowly; and although the Duke of Savoy said he should soon depart to go and put Gravelines and

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Bourbourg in a state of defence, and supply St. Omer with what is required for the defence of those frontiers, he nevertheless is not yet gone. The cause of these tardy proceedings is believed to be the hope of some agreement, but there are two other more certain causes; the one is, the lack of money, there being at present no apparent means for getting any, save through these provinces, whose delegates were to return hither on the 20th instant, with the assent of the communities to the grant already made. The second cause is, that these Lords of the Council, as they do not love one another, so are their political opinions discordant, and King Philip, who usually refers himself to their judgment, never forms the slightest decision spontaneously, and unless some remedy be applied to this disorder, his Majesty's affairs cannot prosper; and one of the remedies should be, to send back the Duke of Alva to his government in Italy.

From England there is advice of the resolution passed by the Parliament to give the Queen a large sum of money to muster a powerful army, which, if entirely composed of English soldiery as believed, will be unable to do any good, as they are not adapted for war, having neither discipline (ordine), *weapons, nor judgment,* (nè giudicio); *so that the Duke of Savoy when talking with me said that he holds the provision made by that kingdom in little account, should it consist solely of English troops, but if with the money destined for that purpose, other soldiery more suited to war were to be raised, or if it should come into King Philip's hands, it would be a very great assistance.*

A knight of Malta has arrived from the Grand Master, to ask King Philip for assistance to defend that island against Sultan Soliman. The King despatched him with loving words, but with little money, and he has written to the Viceroys of Naples and Sicily to give him such assistance as possible.

Brussels, 18th February 1558.

[*Italian, partly in cipher; the portion in italics deciphered by Signor Luigi Pasini.*]

Feb. 19. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

1169. MICHIEL SURIAN, Venetian Ambassador with King Philip, to the DOGE and SENATE.

I have asked his Majesty whether what I have heard publicly reported about the peace was true. King Philip replied, as had been already told me by Don Ruy Gomez, that not only was it untrue that the peace was made, but that it had not even been initiated (incamminata); *that it was quite true that the Constable promised much, but that he is a prisoner, wherefore no great reliance can be placed in his promises, besides which the government of France is now in the hands of his enemies, so that his influence has come to an end. His Majesty then said that the Legate Caraffa gave him to understand that the King of France has placed all his affairs in the Pope's hands, and that his Holiness would demand a suspension of hostilities, that he might then negotiate the peace; and that he, King Philip, would never fail to entertain any fair agreement, as neither in prosperity nor adversity has he ever changed his mind, which has always been inclined*

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towards peace, for the common weal, which he holds in greater account than his personal advantage. The Duke of Savoy in like manner told me that this discourse of peace was a falsehood (una vanità), *there not being so much as a commencement of negotiation. I hear, nevertheless, on good authority, that King Philip desires it so earnestly, as to omit nothing that can warrant a hope of its being effected, and although he told me that the French King's mind* (mente) *is in the Pope's hand, I am however assured that this is a report circulated here by Cardinal Caraffa and his dependants, to facilitate the decision about his own affairs, and not because it is hoped through his Holiness to effect the peace. The Cardinal, when talking with me, said very clearly that he has no hope of it, though with others he says that he has the Pope's mind in hand, it having been brought by Don Francesco da Este, and that he is endeavouring to stipulate a suspension of hostilities, and that these two Kings should hold a conference in some convenient place to conclude a lasting peace; but he is not credited, and evinces great resentment, because the peace is being treated through another channel without him.*

Brussels, 19th February 1558.

[*Italian, in cipher, deciphered by Signor Luigi Pasini.*]

Feb. 19. Original Letter Book, Venetian Archives.

1170. BERNARDO NAVAGERO, Venetian Ambassador in Rome, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The suspicion of the Imperialists increases more and more daily, the causes being the prolonged stay here of Don Francesco da Este, and his close intimacy with the Duke of Paliano; the understanding that the French not only cease to complain of the Pope, but show that they are satisfied with him; the doubt of Don Francesco's departure, until he receive a courier from France in reply to what he wrote thither on the 27th ultimo, without letting it be known that he had sent off any despatch. His confidants here believe that he expects money from France, with which to pay the troops in the fortresses of Tuscany, who are creditors for nine rates of pay; nor can he go thither without giving it them, as they might mutiny. Don Francesco told my secretary that he had intended to depart six days ago, but that the Duke of Paliano, and the Pope likewise, evinced a wish for him to remain here this Carnival, telling him that were his departure of importance they would let him go, but as in that fortress [Mont' Alcino ?] much was not required, they had compelled him to delay for these few days. He then said that by a courier who arrived from France the day before, he had State letters from the Duke de Guise, dated the 22nd ultimo, giving account of the capture of Guisnes; that the Duke of Paliano thought his son and nephew might have left Paris on the 27th, on their way back to Rome, as on the 24th they had taken leave of everybody; and Flaminio da Stabio, captain of the galleys, was gone to pay certain compliments which would not detain him more than two days.

He then added that he did not see that the Caraffas had much hope of the State of Bari, both by reason of the importance of that

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city, and also owing to the claim of the King of Poland, though he thought that the King Catholic, as amends for having made war on the Pope, to show that he was heartily reconciled, and to retain this most illustrious family, would give Cardinal Caraffa a considerable pension, and a State yielding an annual rental of* 7,000 *or* 8,000 *crowns, not to the Duke of Paliano, who would not stir for such a trifle, but to Marquis Montebello, and this might be the Principality of Rosano. It also seemed to Don Francesco that the Caraffas are urging King Philip to give them his credit of* 200,000 *crowns, with the Apostolic Chamber, due to him for expenses at the time of the war of Parma,† intending with this money obtain Camerino in pledge* (farsi dar Camerino in pegno), *binding future Pontiffs not to deprive the Caraffa of that Duchy, unless they repaid them these* 200,000 *crowns. Having drawn the Pope thus far, they will then move a little in advance, and renounce the State of Paliano to the See Apostolic, demanding as compensation the free gift of Camerino* (et dimandar in ricompensa Camerino libero), *about which, only two days ago, the Duke of Paliano had discoursed with Don Francesco; but they must proceed adroitly with his Holiness, and endeavour to persuade him that this exchange, with an addition of* 200,000 *crowns, is to the evident advantage of the See Apostolic, because the Pope insists* (sta duro) *on not choosing to give to his kinsfolk anything belonging to the Church.*

On Tuesday *Signatura* was held in the Pope's presence, to solve a difficulty which has arisen about the sentence pronounced by the two judges, the Dean [Cardinal Pacheco], and the Commissary General, in favour of the Queen of France and against Madame [Margaret] of Austria, wife of Duke Ottavio [Farnese] of Parma, concerning the inheritance of the Medici family. The Dean of the *Rota* says he pronounced *in petitorio*, and the Commissary-General *in possessorio*. The Bishop of Terracina‡ had made great suit to his Holiness in the name of King Philip at the request of his sister. The members of the *Rota* had a long debate, and when about to take the votes of *Signatura*, Monsignor di San Fermo, the agent of the Queen of France, said to the Pope, that the Dean of the *Rota* had an understanding with Cardinal Pacheco, and therefore contradicted the Commissary-General. On hearing these words his Holiness waxed wroth, and told the Cardinals that in this case he forbad them to give their vote, or to interfere in it, or to listen to anything on the subject, showing that he suspected all of them,

* In right of his mother, Bonna Sforza, daughter of Giovanni Sforza, Duke of Milan, married to Sigismund, King of Poland, in the year 1518.

† In the year 1546, Pope Paul III. (Alexander Farnese) gave the investiture of Parma and Piacenza to his son, Pier Luigi; on whose death, in September 1547, the Emperor seized Piacenza and attacked Parma; so from the foregoing paragraph it may be inferred that Charles V. charged the Apostolic Treasury 200,000 crowns for the expenses of the war; but that the debt was still unpaid in 1558, being then due to the Emperor's heir, Philip, King Consort of England, and was begged by the Caraffas to aggrandize the nephews of Paul IV.

‡ Ottaviano Rovera (though in Pallavicino's History of the Council of Trent, vol. 3, p. 898, he is called Reverta). Bishop of Terracina, Papal Nuncio at Brussels, had been sent thence by the Legate Caraffa to give information about Cardinal Pole. (*See* letter dated Rome 29th January.)

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they being nine in number; *so they complain of being treated so ill by him, saying, that even were the suspicion of Cardinal Pacheco's acting from interested motives true, the Pope ought not to have spoken in this way against them all.* Thus was *Signatura* dismissed, without deliberating further.

Rome, 19th February 1558.

[*Italian.*]

Feb. 20. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

1171. MICHIEL SURIAN, Venetian Ambassador with King Philip, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The resolution was lately communicated to the right reverend Legate as follows:—King Philip is content to give, as compensation for the State of Paliano, the town of Rosano, which is a member of the Duchy of Bari; and to Cardinal Caraffa a pension of 12,000 ducats on the Archbishopric of Toledo, besides "*habilità*" on other benefices in Spain, to the amount of 8,000 ducats; and this is called "*naturalità*," because in Spain none but Spaniards can hold benefices.

Cardinal Caraffa is very dissatisfied, it seeming to him a small recompense compared with what he expected, and he has complained to all the persons with whom he has had occasion to converse, nor will he apparently accept either one thing or the other. He says Rosano is not an equivalent compensation for a State yielding 20,000 *crowns annual revenue, most especially when treating with a King, from whom one ought to expect more than what is abandoned.*

Brussels, 20th February 1558.

[*Italian, partly in cipher; the portion in italics deciphered by Signor Luigi Pasini.*]

Feb. 20. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

1172. GIOVANNI MICHIELI, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The Cardinal of Lorraine says concerning the fear of the Turkish fleet by the Maltese, that the King answered the Chancellor sent by the Grand Master, that he could not believe the Turk had a mind to invade them; and that he would not fail to perform every good office, though they were not to consider themselves secure, nor to omit making provision for the defence, as he could not answer for the will of Sultan Soliman. The Cardinal told me moreover that the Turk had prayed the King to recall his knights from Malta, giving him to understand that the capture of the galley stationed off Rhodes, and other damage done, were caused principally by the daring of the French knights, and not by any other tongues (*che di altre fatione*); and in continuation he said, "So, Lord Ambassador, that Order is assuredly more apparent than effective, and my brother, the Prior, who was there, knowing how things were going (*conoscendo come andavano le cose*), departed thence willingly; for the knights are the warders of King Philip, placed and kept by him in that site for his individual service, rather than neutral men (*più presto che huomini neutrali*). He then spoke about the Turkish fleet, repeating that by the end of April, and sooner, Sultan Soli-

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man promised it should be "in these seas of ours" (*in questi nostri mari*); and noting the words "our seas," I availed myself of a good opportunity to make his Lordship declare he meant the Mediterranean; and he said the fleet was coming in such force that it could bring 12,000 men for a landing.

The Cardinal spoke of certain letters from King Philip, found at Calais when the place was taken, they having been sent from Brussels for transmission by way of England to Spain, and informing the Emperor of Queen Mary's pregnancy; the Cardinal of Lorraine saying that she would soon rid us of this doubt, this being the end of the eighth month since her husband left her. He added that the said Queen had used King Philip as mediator, in his quality of Lord of Flanders, to make peace between her and the kingdom of Scotland, the peace and commerce between the Flemings and the Scots not being broken, notwithstanding the rupture between Flanders and France; and that the King sent his ambassadors to Scotland, with whom a thirty days' truce was made, until the arrival of the English ambassadors to treat with them; but that the Queen of Scotland having subsequently heard of the taking of Calais, she no longer chose King Philip's ambassadors to speak of agreement, unless it was general, the realm of France being likewise included in it. Thus, he said, did his sister the Queen Regent of Scotland write to him, in the letters brought by the ambassadors of that kingdom, who arrived in five days at Dieppe, and who are sent that they may witness the marriage of their Queen and the Dauphin, which, besides the other causes, has been delayed owing to the absence of the said ambassadors, and is postponed until eight days after Easter, as told me by the Queen; and the King and Queen of Navarre, who are to be present, have set out (*si sono messi in cammino*) [from Pau].*

Paris, 20th February 1558.

[*Italian.*]

Feb. 26. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

1173. GIOVANNI MICHIEL, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The Legate Trivulci having urged the King in the name of Cardinal Caraffa, as his Majesty, since his late victories in Piedmont and the Calais pale, was now superior, that he should make truce or peace with King Philip, without restoring anything; his Majesty replied, "Monsignor Legate, speaking confidentially with youl I very well know the need I have of peace, and I know that King Philip is in the same need, for although he be great and powerful, I nevertheless do not consider myself his inferior; and he may rest as well assured as I am, that neither of us will succeed in obtaining absolute power, the one over the other; for when one of us shall believe himself arrived at the end, he will find that he has scarcely got to the beginning of the work; so I tell you in conclusion that as

* Henry IV., son of Antoine de Bourbon, King of Navarre, by Jeanne d'Albret was born at the *Château de Pau* in Bearn, 13th December 1553 so that he was in his 5th year at the time of the marriage of Mary Stuart.

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I greatly wish for peace, so shall I always be ready to accept it, on such terms as shall be fair; and should any truce have to be treated, I would not have it made for a year or any similar period, as it would merely give opportunity to prepare for a fresh war, and a much greater one."

These words were told me by Cardinal Trivulci himself, who also said that before they went together to the King, he had a long conversation with the Cardinal of Lorraine, who expressed himself thus, "Very seldom, or never, has any peace or any other sort of agreement been made, by any prince professing neutrality or by his ministers; because the Powers concerned will not confide the most secret causes of their wish for adjustment to any but their privy-councillors"; and he then added very vehemently, "*But if Cardinal Caraffa went to Brussels for no other object than to negotiate the peace, he ought to have proceeded in another form, and should have done as the Cardinal of England wisely did, when employed for this same affair, and urged the chief ministers on one side and the other to confer together; but to speak freely with you, Monsignor, it is too clearly evident that the coming of the Legates had no other object than to make a show; from the wish, under pretence of negotiating public affairs, to have an opportunity for benefiting private ones, as is very well confirmed by the ways of Cardinal Caraffa, who is intent on nothing but his own interests;*" *for it would indeed have been fitting for him, after hearing of the first office performed with his most Christian Majesty, before despatching this courier, to have entered into some sort of proposal, passing beyond general terms, so as to ascertain King Philip's mind as much as possible; but the fact is, that he looks to nothing but what most concerns and touches him, and the chief ministers here daily display not only distrust, but open hatred of Cardinal Caraffa.*

With difficulty could the Legate Trivulci obtain permission to send back the courier to Cardinal Caraffa with his reply, in which he gives him a hint (*lume*) about inducing the ministers to an interview, having well considered the words uttered by the Cardinal of Lorraine to this purpose; but for the future, the most Christian King does not choose couriers or any other sort of ministers to be sent, but all letters to be forwarded to the frontiers, for conveyance thence by the people of the country.

By reason of the persons mentioned, it would be well to enjoin such secrecy about the whole of this business, as merited by the confidence reposed in me.

Paris, 26th February 1558.

[*Italian, partly in cipher; the portions in italics deciphered by Signor Luigi Pasini.*]

Feb. 26. Original Despatch Venetian Archives.

1174. MICHIEL SURIAN, Venetian Ambassador with King Philip, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The delegates of these provinces arrived yesterday with the decision of the communities, and they will consider the increase of duties and sale of revenues, to raise money.

From England, confirmation has been received of the Parliament's money grant. They have appointed eight chief personages who are

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to have supreme authority in military matters, all great servants of the Queen, nor will they depart from her Majesty's will in anything, which is more to King Philip's advantage than any other resolve that could be formed in that kingdom, as he will easily obtain whatever he desires.

They have also sent troops towards Scotland, under the command of the Earl of Westmoreland [Henry Nevill] to secure that part of the territory; and all over the country, wherever they may have cause for suspicion, and opposite Southampton, in the Isle of Wight, they have placed a number of soldiers for its defence.

Nothing is said about the preparations for Italy, everything being in the breast (in petto) *of the Duke of Alva, whose authority displays itself more and more daily. The King stands in awe of him* (li ha rispetto), *and yet more the other lords of the council, so that everything depends on him; if he remain here he will be master* (patron) *of everything, it being already whispered that Don Ruy Gomez will retire to Spain, renouncing political business; and King Philip's Confessor* [*Bernardo de Fresneda?*] *has said that "Don Ruy Gomez might possibly go to Spain," adding that, "the Duke of Alva is more than king, and he himself chooses to do everything"; the Duke's apartments are moreover seen to be frequented by the whole court, whilst those of Don Ruy Gomez are less crowded than they used to be formerly.*

The King's indisposition still continues, but is nothing but a catarrhal affection (*non è altro che cataro*), accompanied occasionally by fever.

Brussels, 26th February 1558.

[*Italian, partly in cipher; the portions in italics deciphered by Signor Luigi Pasini.*]

Feb. 28. Original Despatch Venetian Archives.

175. MICHIEL SURIAN, Venetian Ambassador with King Philip, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The Bishop of Terracina has been to me from the Legate Caraffa, to say that late this evening Secretary Vargas went to him in King Philip's name to present his right reverend Lordship with the patents for the principality of Rosano, telling him that they are what his Majesty intends giving him as compensation for the State of Paliano. Cardinal Caraffa replied that he did not accept them, and that he had no commission from his Holiness except about the peace and about religion and ecclesiastical liberty. Vargas then protested that the King had fulfilled his obligation, whilst the Cardinal protested the contrary, that he did not assent to anything; and of all this a public act was drawn up by a notary. Cardinal Caraffa believes the King will communicate to me the whole of this proceeding, or send an envoy to your Serenity, as the parties in this affair have elected you their arbitrator. This second agreement (capitulatione) *was made without the Pope's knowledge, so he is expected to show great resentment.*

Brussels, 28th February 1558.

[*Italian; the portion in italics deciphered by Signor Luigi Pasini.*]

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Feb. 28. Original Despatch Venetian Archives.

1176. GIOVANNI MICHIEL, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

M. de Termes wrote lately from Calais that the enemy had been to reconnoitre Guisnes with the intention of occupying it, and fortifying themselves within those remains of walls which are still standing, it not having been possible to destroy them entirely; and they are heard to be re-enforcing themselves so briskly in the direction of Han and St. Quentin that they have mustered four thousand horse, and many ensigns of infantry, with several pieces of field-artillery, so as to march at an hour's warning; though here, not only is there no sign of apprehension, but they have not scrupled to break all the Switzers, and two companies of "Blacksmiths," who were not in such good order as the other four engaged by them; whilst on the other hand his Majesty has despatched Colonel Forlis (*sic*),* a very expert man, and for whom he has the greatest regard, to engage fresh Switzers; and new commissions are given daily for cavalry, with orders for them to be in France next May; the King intending, if possible, to exeeed the Spanish preparations, which in every quarter are reported as most powerful (*gagliardissimi*). During the Constable's absence, the government of Picardy has been given to the Duke de Montmorency, and the generalship of the cavalry in Piedmont has been confirmed to his brother M. de Damville; whilst to the Prince de Condé, the brother of the King of Navarre, his most Christian Majesty has given the generalship of the infantry, also in Piedmont, which is resigned by the Vidame de Chartres, he being sent as General to Scotland.

From 60 to 80 vessels laden with victuals, bound for Calais, were lately stranded in a gale on the coast of Normandy; and on board of them were many of the inhabitants of Terouenne and St. Quentin, to whom the King has given permission to go and reside there, as compensation for what they have lost, to which effect two commissioners have been appointed to partition the houses and lands of the said place amongst those who by authentic certificates prove their losses; and moreover, to people the town as much as possible, his Majesty has given to the chief neighbouring cities, such as Amiens, Rouen, Abbeville, and the like, a tenement for each of them, that they may send their fellow-townspeople to dwell there and revive some traffic.

Paris, 28th February 1558.

[*Italian, partly in cipher; the portion in italics deciphered by Signor Luigi Pasini.*]

March 1. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

1177. MICHIEL SURIAN, Venetian Ambassador with King Philip, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The Secretary Vargas came to me this evening from King Philip to tell me what took place with the Legate Caraffa; and it will also be written to the Ambassador Vargas. The conclusion is, that the King sent the Cardinal the ratification of two agreements made

* Query, Ferlich; *see post*, date 8 March.

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between his right reverend Lordship in the Pope's name, and the Duke of Alva in his Majesty's name, last September, the one public, which contains many articles, the other secret, containing the conditions of the compensation for Paliano, which are in number three; the first, that the compensation given by his Majesty be such as to satisfy that Duke; the second, that should the parties not agree, your Serenity is to be judge; the third, that these purposes be carried into effect within the term of six months, which term expires on the 14th instant.

For this reason his Majesty caused an offer to be made to the Legate Caraffa, as compensation, of the principality of Rossano in the kingdom of Naples, which yields an annual revenue of from 5,000 to 6,000 crowns, and moreover 10,000 crowns assigned as a perpetual fief on the silk duty of that kingdom, and yesterday evening he sent him the patent officially signed and sealed. The Cardinal refused to accept it, saying that he has not authority. King Philip then had a formal protest drawn up, thus giving it to be understood that he has complied with the agreement at the due time, so should it not be executed accordingly, he is not responsible for the delay. I despatch the present letters by the Bishop of Terracina, who departs this night. Cardinal Caraffa also informed me that he was with the King to-day, and spoke about the three principal points which he has to treat with his Majesty, viz., about the peace, about the religion, and about the ecclesiastical liberty (*et della libertà ecclesiastica*). He anticipates a good reply speedily, and intends to leave in eight or ten days for Italy.

Brussels, 1st March 1558.

[*Italian.*]

March 5. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

1178. MICHIEL SURIAN, Venetian Ambassador with King Philip, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The Legate has been twice with the King, and spoke him very fair (et ha usato con sua Maestà parole humanissime), *showing himself beyond measure content with the favours conferred on him by his Majesty; but about the Duke of Alva he spoke so openly, as he himself told me, that he thus willed to demonstrate to the King how all the ills proceeded from that Duke, and that others moreover will follow, should he be left as much authority as has been enjoyed by him until now. It is not for me to judge whether he did well or ill to perform this office, but I indeed wish your Serenity to know that his most illustrious Lordship is in very bad odour with the whole court, and the Archbishop of Toledo told a person who repeated it to me, that no one will any longer negotiate with him, because the most Serene King says* "non haze como habla," *viz., that he speaks in one way and acts in another; and all the rest of these lords distrust anything his Lordship may say, so that even Don Ruy Gomez, who evinced more goodwill towards him than anyone else, because he above all of them has always peace and quiet at heart, said latterly that he was glutted* (che si trova sazio), *and would not have anything more to do with him.*

His most illustrious Lordship is now occupied in despatching the affairs of private individuals, and thinks of departing speedily for

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Italy; and he told the King that it would be well for him to get to Rome soon to quiet the Pope, in case the report of the Bishop of Terracina should not have pleased him; and most especially as his Holiness does not know of the second agreement, as written by me lately, and when he does, it might make him somewhat angry.*

He has not performed any other office with the King about the affairs of the peace, except to communicate to him the letters he had received from France, which contain no hope of peace, although King Henry always gave fair words, as written to me also by the Ambassador Michiel; neither would they grant the Legate Triulzi there a passport demanded by him for the transmission of his other couriers and letters, nor will they even accept those sent to them by this side. The negotiation is thus completely broken, nor, from what I hear on good authority, does it seem that there is any longer hope of peace through any of the other mediators by whom it was treated, viz., neither by the Constable, nor by the Marshal de St. André, nor by others. The Duke of Savoy has indeed departed to inspect the frontiers, and will have spoken with the Constable, but the general belief is that the conference was fruitless; and I have heard from a person able to know it that these Lords of the Council consented to the Duke's interview with the Constable now when they have no hope through that channel, but would not have consented to his speaking to him previously, because as it is the chief interest of Savoy to put himself forward in any negotiation for peace, they wished to prevent him from performing any office that might have thwarted it, had it been already commenced.

Brussels, 5th March 1558.

[*Italian; the portion in italics deciphered by Signor Luigi Pasini.*]

March 5. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives. (2nd letter.)

1179. MICHIEL SURIAN, Venetian Ambassador with King Philip, to the DOGE and SENATE.

Besides what is written in the accompanying letter, I must tell your Serenity that although there is no hope of peace, there is nevertheless no visible provision for war: and these Flemish Lords have almost all gone to their estates (alli sui poderi), *giving it to be understood that they will not serve in the war, unless some better method be adopted with regard to the affairs; and as the entire government is in the hands of the Spaniards, who hold them in no account, they prognosticate ill of the future, blaming the negligence and inexperience of those who rule, perhaps more openly than is becoming, though to tell the truth, they are not altogether in the wrong, for having the enemy so near at hand and in such force, some army-corps should be got together, to succour the places from which they intend to make their attack; and although everybody lays the blame of this delay on Cardinal Caraffa's negotiation, which has impeded all other business, I am told in secret that until the Duke of Alva determine either to return to Italy, or to remain, no arrangement whatever will be made for what is required, nor*

* See letter dated 1st March.

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does the Duke give himself to be understood, and all persons, including the King in person, bear him great respect. The delegates of these States returned with the confirmatian of the subsidy to be given to the King, according to the proposal made heretofore; and were this supply in being at present it would be of great moment, but as yet no commencement is visible, and there will be difficulties in getting the money together, as although they may easily increase the duties assigned by them, it is however difficult to obtain purchasers for the large sum required; and it was told me lately that many persons do not consider this fund very secure.

From England, what I wrote on the 26th ult., about the election of those eight individuals for the war, is confirmed, but it is nevertheless said that King Philip will not derive thence the benefit he anticipated, as it seems that the English have determined to wage offensive war solely by sea; which, although it is something, is not however enough to produce any important result; so with the hope of so little from that quarter, the whole must be done here. Concerning the provisions for Italy, all I have to tell is that Don Hernando, the natural son of the Duke of Alva, will be Captain-General of the men-at-arms, which charge was formerly held by the Prince of Ascoli, who died some months ago here at the court and was the son of the late Don Antonio de Leva; and M. de Ligni, a Piedmontese, who came lately from Italy for pecuniary supply for the cost incurred in securing the port of Villafranca, is returning thither in two days, with some thousands of crowns for that purpose.

Brussels, 5th March 1558.

[*Italian, the portion in italics, deciphered by Signor Luigi Pasini.*]

March 5. Original Letter Book, Venetian Archives. (2nd letter.)

1180. BERNARDO NAVAGERO, Venetian Ambassador in Rome, to the DOGE and SENATE.

Here, the last letters from King Philip's court, dated 13th February, mention the arrival there on that morning of the Bishop of Terracina.* The person who is accustomed faithfully to impart everything to my secretary,† and who has authentic advices, told him that there had been some contention between Cardinal Caraffa and the Duke of Alva, the cause having been that the Cardinal denied having promised the Duke certain things, as, for instance, the restitution of their property to Ascanio della Cornia, the Count de Bagno, and the like, which the Duke has decided to renounce, saying, however, that the world shall know clearly that these concessions were promised him. My intelligencer also said that King Philip's council was of opinion that his Majesty should requite Cardinal Caraffa with 12,000 crowns pension on the archbishopric of Toledo,

* Ottaviano Rovera, Papal Nuncio at Brussels, and who in January was sent thence to Rome by the Legate Caraffa to tell the Pope what he had been able to do with King Philip about Cardinal Pole.

† As seen by a ciphered paragraph in Navagero's letter to the Chiefs of the Ten (vol. B, No. VII., p. 144), date 5th March 1558, this "intelligencer" was the staunch Imperialist, the Cardinal Camerlengo Guido Ascanio Sforza.

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of the sum left in blank (as written by me), and assign to *the Duke of Paliano another* 12,000 *crowns annual revenue on states in the kingdom of Naples, the difficulty being whether on Bari or elsewhere, Cardinal Caraffa insisting on Bari.*

A report circulated that the ambassador from Florence could not obtain audience of the Pope, because his Holiness was dissatisfied with the Duke, it having come to his knowledge that he had written to King Philip to detain Cardinal Caraffa at his court as long as he could, because on his return hither he would again turn everything topsy-turvy.

Rome, 5th March 1557.

[*Italian.*]

March 6. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

1181. MICHIEL SURIAN, Venetian Ambassador with King Philip to the DOGE and SENATE.

One day lately, I was with the King, partly to visit him, now that he is almost quite free from his indisposition, partly to perform certain offices enjoined me by your Serenity; and through the opportunity afforded by the letters from France, the topic of peace was introduced, about which his Majesty spoke in such a way, that I elicited what is written in the accompanying packet, viz., that but little is hoped through any channel. I told his Majesty that I had letters from France that your Serenity's ambassador there had several times performed an office in favour of peace with King Henry, and found him well disposed towards it. The King replied that no trust could be placed in the words of the King of France, although he expresses a wish for peace, and that from the following fact, I might know whether his heart is in the hand of God; as he holds intercourse with the Turks, and annually invites them by promises and rewards (*premij*) to destroy what little remains of Christendom. His Majesty then added, that he will never fail to make peace, in like manner as he was never the author of the war, and that he will always listen willingly to whoever speaks to him about it, although the thing seems to him very difficult.

Brussels, 6th March 1558.

[*Italian, partly in cipher; the portion in italics deciphered by Signor Luigi Pasini.*]

March 8. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

1182. GIOVANNI MICHIEL, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

M. de Montmorency returned from Picardy yesterday, and confirmed the news of the retreat of King Philip's troops, after they had victualled St. Quentin, Han, and Le Catelet, which suffered greatly, so now both sides are in garrison, awaiting the time to take the field. The French in the meanwhile are reinforcing themselves, so as to be foremost, and one of the sons of the late John Frederick, Duke of Saxony, and the Duke of Lüneburg* and other Germans,

* Duke of Brunswick-Lüneburg. (See the late Sir William Hackett's index to Foreign Calendar "Mary.")

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announce their entry into his Majesty's service, and that in the course of next month their cavalry, numbering 5,000 carabineers (*pistoletti*), will be in marching order, before which time Colonel Ferlich will have engaged the Switzers.

The Legate Triulzi is much surprised, as the Cardinal of Lorraine told his attendants of the departure from Brussels of Cardinal Caraffa, that the latter should not have given him any notice of it. The said Cardinal's agent resident here attributes his departure to his most Christian Majesty's not having allowed any gentleman or other agents of the two Legates, not even mere couriers, to go to and fro for this affair of the peace, and only allowing the letters to be taken as far as the frontiers, which making Cardinal Caraffa despair of doing any good, he resolved to go back; so Triulzi likewise is expecting his recall hourly.

Reports a conversation with Marshal Strozzi touching the Turkish fleet.

The chiefs of the foreign merchants, having heard of the order issued by the Inquisition throughout this kingdom about the [Roman Catholic] religion (*la religione*), and comprehending the perils and costs which they might incur through the malice of accusers, have urged his Majesty that, in conformity with their ancient privileges and concessions, they may be empowered to live in their own fashion, nor be subjected to the said Inquisition, which has been granted them in general terms, both for all those now in France as for all others who shall come hither provided they be merchants, and that they abstain from preaching and from speaking in public about religion. This having been heard by the Protestant emigrants living in the Grisons, they sent hither to obtain, as they have done, the same license; from which it is inferred that, under this cloak of "merchants," the greater part of those emigrant Protestants at Geneva and in the other places of the Switzers will come to this kingdom.

Moret,* 8th March 1558.

[*Italian, partly in cipher; the portion in italics deciphered by Signor Luigi Pasini.*]

March 8. Original Letter Book, Venetian Archives.

1183. BERNARDO NAVAGERO, Venetian Ambassador in Rome, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The Duke of Paliano, when discussing the affairs of Flanders, told me he had no hope about the state of Bari, and that King Philip's ministers had already sold two places of that territory, distant four miles from the city, for 48,000 ducats to Don Garcia de Toledo; that in their present straights they are intent on raising money upon everything, caring little about the Pope; that the Cardinal, his brother, did not write, as he had nothing good to communicate, not having negotiated at the commencement as he ought to have done, for he, perhaps, gave hopes of concessions which the Pope will never make, namely, to pardon his rebels, it being heard here that he has had a misunderstanding with the Duke of Alva about Ascanio della Cornia; that the Cardinal had caressed Marc'

* Moret, on the Loing, two leagues S.E. of Fontainebleau. (See Malte-Brun.)

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Antonio Colonna, whom he invited to dine with him, which made Colonna believe that he might soon get back his state, thus encouraging his partisans to assist him; which has displeased the Pope, who did not intend to have law given him in his own house, and he ordered the Bishop of Terracina to let the Cardinal know that he was to say nothing about Marc' Antonio, but rather to leave aside all personal affairs (*tutte le cose particular*), and attend to the two public ones, viz., the peace and the religion. The Duke also said that not having any advice of the boys (*delli putti*), he suspected that they had been detained in consequence of some fresh order.

Rome, 8th March 1558.

[*Italian.*]

March 8. MS. St. Mark's Library, Cod. XXIV., Cl. X. p. 69 recto e verso.

1184. CARDINAL POLE to JEAN DE LA VALETTE, Grand Master of the Order of St. John of Jerusalem.

Don Pedro de Mendoza delivered to him the Grand Master's letter, dated the 8th December, announcing his promotion to the Grand Mastership,* and recommending to him the affairs of the Order in England. Feels much pleasure and satisfaction thereat.

London, 8th March 1558.

[*Italian.*]

March 8. MS. St. Mark's Library, Cod. XXIV. cl. X. p. 193 verso.

1185. CARDINAL POLE to KING PHILIP.

His Majesty some months ago having written letters to the Queen, and to Pole likewise, evincing his regard for the affairs of the Order of St. John in England, they have attended to arranging and settling them in the best way possible, as the King may have heard from Don Antonio de Toledo. The Bailiff (*Baylino*) of Eagle† (*dell' Aquila*), the bearer of the present letter, has shown himself a faithful and diligent minister of the Order, and is now going to Malta, taking with him some English knights.

London, 8th March 1558.

[*Italian.*]

March 8. MS. St. Mark's Library, Cod. XXIV. Cl. X. p. 194.

1186. CARDINAL POLE to the GRAND MASTER of the ORDER of ST. JOHN OF JERUSALEM.

Three of the knights made in England, together with another individual who wishes to assume the habit, having offered to go to Malta to serve the Order, the Queen has thought fit that they should be accompanied by the Bailiff (*Baylio*) of Eagle, the bearer of the present letter. Recommends them to the Grand Master. The Bailiff will be able to give full information about what has taken place in England concerning the Order.

London, 8th March 1558.

[*Italian.*]

* The election took place on the 21st August 1557. (See L'Art de Verifier les Dates.)

† The Commandry of Eagle was situated seven miles from Lincoln. (See "The Hospitallers in England," p. 286.)

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MS. St. Mark's Library, Cod. XXIV. Cl. X. p. 194.

1187. CARDINAL POLE to the ARCHBISHOP of TOLEDO [BARTOLOMEO DE CARRANZA].

Received the Archbishop's letter through the Turcopolier [Shelley], and by the same opportunity Pole's agent (*speditore*) sent him also the Archbishop's printed book, which pleased him very greatly.* Hopes it may be of much use not only in Spain but in England, and in other places in Christendom. Was glad to hear of Carranza's consecration, and although his stay with King Philip cannot but greatly benefit the service of God, is nevertheless anxious for the road to be soon open for him to go and perform his ministry. In the meanwhile this book will give the Spaniards (*quei populi*) a wholesome foretaste of the great favour God has conferred on them.

With regard to present affairs, Pole is much of Carranza's opinion that the best way of negotiating is to pray, and to ignore all the other forms of business in general use amongst mankind, taking comfort through the hope that in the end the Majesty of God will turn everything to His glory, and for the rest, with the assistance of His Grace, attend to the performance of our own duty.

London, 9th March 1558.

[*Italian.*]

March 9.
MS. St. Mark's Library, Cod. XXIV. Cl. X. p. 194 verso.

1188. CARDINAL POLE to DON ANTONIO DE TOLEDO.

The Turcopolier has delivered the letters of Don Antonio, and imparted what he was commissioned to say about the Order of St. John in England. Refers to the Bailiff of Eagle for full information.

The Queen and Pole and his colleagues (*et tutti noi*), were greatly comforted to hear that the King has quite recovered from his late indisposition.

London, 9th March 1558.

[*Italian.*]

March 9.
MS. St. Mark's Library, Cod. XXIV. Cl. X. p. 194 verso & 195 recto.

1189. CARDINAL POLE to KING PHILIP.

Owing to incessant parliamentary business, the Queen being much molested and disturbed, this being followed by news of his Majesty's indisposition, Pole and the ministry greatly feared that, unless she were speedily consoled by hearing of his convalescence, her health would suffer. From that apprehension they are now, thanks to

* Carranza published in Spanish at Antwerp, in 1558, his "Commentaries on the Christian Catechism," a work which was probably considered heterodox by Paul IV., and the Archbishop's intimacy with Cardinal Pole substantiating the Pope's suspicion of Carranza's doctrine, it may reasonably be inferred that already in the spring of 1558, orders were sent from the "Holy Office" in Rome to the Inquisitors in Spain narrowly to watch the Archbishop of Toledo, on his arrival there; it being improbable that without precise instructions from head-quarters the Spanish General of the Inquisition, the Archbishop of Seville (although he was the personal enemy of Carranza), would have dared to effect the arrest of the Primate of Spain, which took place in the course of a visitation of his own diocese, on the 22nd of August 1559, four days after the death at Rome of Paul IV. Carranza was removed from the prisons of the Inquisition in Spain to those of Rome, nor did he obtain his release until the year 1576; on the 2nd of May in which year he died at the age of 72.

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God, relieved, her Majesty being freed from both one and the other cause of trouble and affliction. As Parliament likewise has come to an end, although from the nature of the times there can be no lack of causes for vexation, the Queen will be enabled nevertheless, with greater mental quiet, to enjoy the residence and monastery of Greenwich, with the hope that before her departure thence she will be comforted by the so earnestly desired presence of the King, for the attainment of which grace she will be assisted by the prayers of those good fathers.

London, 9th March 1558.

P.S.—The Turcopolier has delivered the King's letter of the 4th instant, and narrated what his Majesty was pleased to impart. This gave very great comfort to the Queen and to everybody, by confirming the very acceptable news of the King's good health.

Respecting the privileges of the Catholics of England, the Queen of her piety has anticipated Pole's wish, by removing all the difficulties raised against this measure, so that it will take full effect. Don Antonio de Toledo will have informed the King of all the particulars.

9th March 1558

[*Italian.*]

March 10. Original Letter Book, Venetian Archives.

1190. MICHIEL SURIAN, Venetian Ambassador with King Philip, to the DOGE and SENATE.

Sure advice has arrived express from Burgundy, that in a few days there will be got together 15,000 *German infantry and* 4,000 *horse, part being sent by the Count Palatine, part by the Marquis of Baden, and part by the Landgrave, but at the cost of the most Christian King, who has assigned them their rates of pay* (le paghe) *at Augsburg. They are the troops about whom I wrote heretofore, that they were being levied in Germany for an attack on King Philip; and yesterday it was heard that part of them have already arrived at Metz, where the muster is to be made. In the meanwhile, boats and other necessaries were being prepared for the army, and the French are adding to their numbers at Mezières, one of their frontier places on the Meuse, on the confines of Liege and of Namur, very near a fortress of King Philip, called Philippeville, which, owing to the accidental fall of a curtain* into the moat, is now open, and in great danger of being lost. These German troops, either joined with the French, or by themselves alone, form such an army-corps, that his Catholic Majesty having made no other provision than is now visible, they can without impediment proceed to ravage Burgundy, or come towards Namur, or Mastricht, or the province of Liege, which is quite open, and in great danger of being lost; and whithersoever they may go, they will put everything to confusion, as there are no troops to oppose them, neither few nor many; and the Spaniards and those few Germans whom they kept in these parts, are distributed on the frontiers, nor can they be removed without manifest danger,*

* That part of the wall or rampart that lies between two bastions. (See Military Dictionary.)

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whilst the militia of the territory is disarmed and without horses, as since many months they have had no pay; besides which, there is no time to make provision, and in addition to this, although the delegates of these provinces have come to execute the promised agreement, by means of which the pecuniary supply so greatly needed might be turned to account, there are still nevertheless many difficulties, the most important ones being, first of all, that the delegates from Flanders, which is the chief member, have not yet made their appearance, the reason being that the soldiers on those frontiers have mutinied because they are not paid, and live at discretion, ravaging the territory; so although the towns of Flanders consented to the agreement, they nevertheless will not execute it until those troops are paid, the occasion of these outrages being thus removed. For this, however, they hope to find a remedy, since the arrival of the Spanish fleet in Zealand, whence it was compelled by a violent storm to put back to Biscay, and it is said to bring 200,000 *crowns for account of the King, and should the sum as usual be less than reported, it might however suffice to quell the mutiny, by giving the soldiers a part of their due; but another more momentous difficulty remains, viz., that owing to these disturbances on the frontiers, the promise of the provinces cannot be fulfilled, as nobody will be found to disburse money on an increase of the duties, as if that fund was already considered insecure, it will now be much more depreciated through this fear of the enemy so near at hand. Such is the state of affairs in these parts, and it seems that neither this most Serene King nor these Lords of the Council attach much importance to it, as his Majesty does not negotiate, neither do the Councillors form any resolve.*

The Duke of Savoy went, as written by me, to inspect these frontiers, and at Hangien (Haguenau ?), where the Constable is, he stipulated the release of his younger son, and the 12,000 crowns ransom are to be paid at Venice, and will be given to M. de Ligni, to continue the fortification of the Port of Villafranca, as written by me lately.

The right reverend Caraffa is attending to the settlement of the affairs commenced by him, so as to depart next week, and with regard to the peace, nothing more has been done than already written by me. By the enclosed reply* given by the King to the Legate, nothing appears, save that his Majesty perseveres in his good disposition.

Brussels, 10th March 1558.

[*Italian, partly in cipher; the portion in italics deciphered by Signor Luigi Pasini.*]

March 12. Original Letter Book, Venetian Archives.

1191. BERNARDO NAVAGERO, Venetian Ambassador in Rome, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The Duke of Paliano told my secretary that Cardinal Caraffa's last letters from Brussels did not seem very hopeful to him. Then on Thursday a courier on his way to Naples, who left King Philip's court

* Not found.

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on the 1st instant, passed through this city leaving but two packets, one for Ascanio Caracciolo, the other for Cardinal Pacheco. On that same evening Caracciolo conferred with the Duke of Paliano, and Pacheco with the Pope, dissatisfaction being visible both on the part of his Holiness and of the Duke, and throughout the rest of the palace, without its being possible to ascertain the cause. Then, yesterday, Cardinal Pacheco told me that having received a letter of credence in his own person for the Pope, from the King Catholic, and an instruction apart about everything, he went to his Holiness, who, whilst reading the letter, purporting that Pacheco would tell him something about Paliano, and praying his Holiness to give him credence, as to himself, evinced dissatisfaction that mention should be made of Paliano, giving it to be understood that compensation had been treated without his consent, he being of opinion that it misbecame his dignity to restore Paliano, showing him that he did not know the contents of the agreement (*capitulatione*) made at Cavi* between Cardinal Caraffa and the Duke of Alva. Pacheco says he revealed the whole to him, viz., that it was concluded that the King giving fair compensation (and in case of difficulty it was to be judged by your Serenity) to the Duke of Paliano within six months, which end on the 14th instant, Paliano was to be left at his Majesty's disposal (*Paliano sia lassato ad arbitrio di Sua Maestà*); the King having therefore declared the compensation, which was the principality of Rosano, besides so many thousand crowns revenue, to be continued to the successors, as to amount in all to about 14,000 crowns annually. Cardinal Pacheco says that the Pope pretended to overlook all details (*finxit se longius ire*), for he never grew angry, although the conversation lasted for three hours, which seemed to him a miracle. Pacheco says, that on his departure, the Duke of Paliano having risen from his bed, thus indisposed as he is, went to the Pope at 9 p.m., though he does not know what they will do, but that they ought to be satisfied, considering the state in which they find themselves. He also told me that Ascanio Caracciolo was commissioned by the King to give me account of the whole, in like manner as his Majesty's ambassador [at Venice] would also inform your Serenity. Cardinal Pacheco then said, "To speak freely with you, I am not without hope, and have advice to this effect, that if not peace at least a truce may ensue, for which the Constable of France makes great effort (*fa grand' officio*)."

Don Francesco da Este at length departed yesterday morning, having previously told my secretary that the news received by the Caraffas (*da questi Signori Illustrissimi*) from the court of King Philip does not please them, and they are all confused, and that the Pope will not hear of leaving Paliano (*non vuol intender di lassar Paliano*). He then said that he understood the Duke of Florence was marching his troops, and giving them money; that he suspected they would be sent towards the French fortresses, although it was announced that they were to fill up the companies sent by him heretofore to Duke Ottavio [Farnese]; that he did not know the state of the negotiation for the peace between the Duke [of Ferrara],

* Two miles from Genzano. See Navagero's letter of 11th September 1557.

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his brother, and him of Parma [Ottavio Farnese], through the mediation of the Duke of Florence, but that he did not believe it to be rejected (*esclusa*).

Dom. Anibal Ruccellai, who, according to advices from France, writes that the lads* are detained, has increased the discontent of the Caraffas.

The ambassador from Poland, who was here and departed lately, received orders on the road from his King desiring him to go to Bari, to perform the obsequies of Queen Bonna.

Five days ago the Cardinal of Fano died, to the grief (*con dolor*) of the whole court, being reputed learned and virtuous: he died so poor that Cardinal Puteo asked the Pope for his ring for the family (*la fameglia*) of the deceased, to whom he bequeathed his moveables, as he possessed nothing else; nor do his relations even wish for the 500 crowns, which is the value of the ring (*et questi anco non vogliono li 500 scudi che importa l'anello*). As yet the Pope has denied it; nor, for the comprehension of those who are perhaps ignorant of the fact, will I omit to mention that this ring is the one given by the Pope to the Cardinals on their election, so on their demise the (reigning?) Pope receives 500 crowns, levied on their goods (*che si cavano delli loro beni*).†

Every day of late I solicited audience of the Pope, but owing to various impediments, and most especially by reason of the above written news from Brussels, he could not give it me.

Calamitous state of Ancona.

Rome, 12th March 1558.

[*Italian.*]

March 12. MS. St. Mark's Library. Cod. XXIV., Cl. X., p. 195.

1192. CARDINAL POLE to the DUCHESS OF PARMA.

The Bailiff of Eagle having to pass through Parma on his way to Malta, Pole will not lose this opportunity for writing to her Excellency. Is very glad to have heard occasionally of her well-being, by letters addressed to England by Cavalier Ardinghello, and through several channels of the good promise (*buona riuscita*) which the Prince, her son,‡ continues to give of himself; and how glad King Philip and all his court are of this. Congratulates her, praying God to continue comforting her in this respect, as also the Lord Duke and Cardinal Farnese.

Greenwich, 12th March 1558.

[*Italian.*]

March 13. Original Letter Book, Venetian Archives.

1193. BERNARDO NAVAGERO, Venetian Ambassador at Rome, to the DOGE and SENATE.

This morning I had a visit from Ascanio Caracciolo, who is negotiating here in the name of the King Catholic, and he told me that his Lord had charged him to communicate to me all that had taken

* The Pope's great-nephews.

† Paul IV. was a steady hater. Pole and Morone had been his competitors in three conclaves, Fano having offended him in like manner in 1555, so he accused all three of them of heresy; the charge against Bertano being recorded by Sir Edward Carne in a letter to Queen Mary, dated Rome, 21st August 1557.

‡ Alexander Farnese, Duke of Parma (the great captain and grandson of Charles V.) in his 15th year.

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place about the compensation to be given to the Duke of Paliano. [It is related at length.]

Rome, 13th March 1558.

[*Italian.*]

March 13. Original Letter Book, Venetian Archives. (2nd letter.)

1194. BERNARDO NAVAGERO, Venetian Ambassador at Rome, to the DOGE and SENATE.

This evening, at 7 p.m., I had audience of his Holiness, who seated himself, saying he did so, that I also might do the like, as he saw that I could keep my feet with difficulty. I thanked him for so much courtesy, and then asked how he was. He replied that he had been troubled with catarrh, which still molested him, but that he hoped the malady was unimportant. I then had read to him the news letters from Adrianople of the 26th and 28th January and 4th ultimo, concerning the preparations for a powerful fleet now being made by Sultan Soliman, and about the prevalent activity at Vallona. The Pope said, "Last night, as you know, the Bishop of Terracina arrived, having been sent by Cardinal Caraffa. We have not yet been able to hear him well, and have determined to hear him after you. He, however, told us that King Philip announced to him his good intentions towards the peace, referring himself to us, and will do everything, as, for instance, respecting conferences, &c.; nor shall we fail to impart this to our other son, the King of France, to see how he takes it, as we suspect that the taking of Calais and his other successes, backed, as he is, by the Turkish fleet (*con queste spalle dell' armata Turchesca*), may impede so good and desirable a work. We long to have Cardinal Caraffa here, for we have so many troubles that we can no longer bear them, and he was wont in great part to relieve us." I told him that my most noble successor would enter this city to-morrow, and that at his Holiness' convenience we would come to kiss his feet; and I assured him that he was a senator of ability, prudence, and modesty, so that he would make amends for my deficiencies. "Thus will we believe," said the Pope, "for from amongst many good men, those Lords select the best, to send them on foreign missions (*per mandar a torno*). In truth, we see you depart unwillingly, but the removal being requisite we cannot do otherwise."

Rome, 13th March 1558.

[*Italian.*]

March 14. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

1195. GIOVANNI MICHIEL, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

Yesterday the Legate Trivulci told the King with how much pleasure the Pope had heard of his willingness to make peace, and of the fair hope conceived by his Holiness, he having heard the like about the mind of the King Catholic. The Legate proposed a conference between the French and Spanish ministers, to which King Henry and the Cardinal of Lorraine at length assented, but with great difficulty his Majesty allowed the Legate to send one of his

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attendants to Brussels to induce King Philip to act in like manner, with orders that should he no longer find Cardinal Caraffa there (the Cardinal of Lorraine having said again yesterday that he was to depart on the 8th) he was to address himself to the Nuncio, who will have remained there. Should King Philip likewise be content, as from the signs given is to be hoped, they might then treat about the persons to be sent, and time and place, so that terms may easily be made when the conference is agreed to.

The day before yesterday, M. de Vaudemont, who a short time ago was at Brussels, came hither as expected, and besides having come for his nephew's marriage, he anticipated his coming to aid the negotiation for peace, his good offices with King Philip having greatly contributed to procure his consent to the conference; it having been already reported that he (M. de Vaudemont) requested his Catholic Majesty to let the Duchess of Lorraine see her son, so that with this opportunity she and the Count, her brother, might negotiate either with the Cardinal of Lorraine or the Duke de Guise.

Moret, 14th March 1558.

[*Italian.*]

March 16. Original Letter Book, Venetian Archives.

1196. BERNARDO NAVAGERO, Venetian Ambassador at Rome, to the DOGE and SENATE.

Yesterday, when I went to take leave of Cardinal Vitelli, he spoke about the State of Paliano and the proposed compensation.

The Cardinal then told me that to-day at 2 p.m. congregation general was to assemble, in which the Pope would speak about the peace between those two kings, having received at the hands of the Bishop of Terracina a reference (*una remission*) from King Philip, which reference (*la qual remissione*) being drawn up in general terms, Vitelli thought it unimportant; adding that Cardinal Caraffa wrote that he should commence his homeward journey six or eight days after the departure from Brussels of the Bishop of Terracina, which would be about the 10th inst.

Rome, 16th March 1558.

[*Italian.*]

March 16. Original Letter Book, Venetian Archives. (2nd letter.)

1197. ALVISE MOCENIGO and BERNARDO NAVAGERO, Venetian Ambassadors at Rome, to the DOGE and SENATE.

On Monday, I, Alvise, made my entry into Rome, being met by my predecessor, by many prelates, and by the attendants of the Cardinals.

In the congregation general, the Pope had a letter read from the King Catholic, dated the 2nd inst., and consigned to him by the Bishop of Terracina, with a writing from the Bishop of Arras and Don Ruy Gomez, whereby King Philip answers what had been written to him, and the verbal statement of Cardinal Caraffa about the most Christian King's wish for peace. His Catholic Majesty says, that if the King of France has this goodwill to the quiet of Christendom, he, Philip, will not fail to do whatever is becoming for so great a good, but that he suspects this good will to be a wish to

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delay until the arrival of the Turkish forces, and that should there be a difficulty about any article, he would readily refer it to his Holiness; adding that the Pope having offered to attend a conference, should it be wished to hold one, he, King Philip, would also go thither for such benefit as might result to Christendom, as also to kiss his feet, and referring himself to what he had said more diffusely to Cardinal Caraffa.

After perusal of these documents, the Pope said that, decrepit as he was, yet for so signal a benefit he would not fail to go to Nice or some other suitable place, to effect an interview between these kings, and that he would take with him such of the Cardinals as chose to go. About this there was a long debate, part of the Cardinals recommending his Holiness to go, and part saying it was not well to depart hence, unless he had something certain in hand; others suggested that it would be well to propose a suspension of hostilities, during which the peace might be treated more commodiously; and they came to the conclusion to await Cardinal Caraffa, as by his letters, and according to the statement of the Bishop of Terracina, his right reverend Lordship was to set out on his return to Rome about the 10th of this month. It is understood that to-day these Lords are writing to France to announce this desire of King Philip, and this is perhaps the reason why his Holiness did not give us audience.

The Duke of Paliano sent to tell the Pope, the Countess [Montorio] his mother, and the Duchess [his wife], that by letters from Lyons of the 3rd inst. he is advised that his son and nephew are coming, and that their delay was caused by the captain of the galleys, Flaminio da Stabio, not having been expedited (*espedito*) sooner.

Rome, 16th March 1558.

[*Italian.*]

March 18. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

1198. GIOVANNI MICHIEL, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

I have this moment heard from the Legate that he has received a fresh letter from Cardinal Caraffa, dated Brussels the 10th, announcing his intended departure thence on the 14th, and that at his last conference with King Philip about the peace, his Majesty told him in conclusion that he was content to refer all the disputes (*differenze*) capable of adjustment between him and the King of France to his Holiness' arbitration. Considering this news of great consequence, the Legate sent immediately to ask for audience, and in the meanwhile his opinion is, that this reference will be taken very much amiss by his most Christian Majesty and his chief ministers.

It is also heard, through the gentleman sent hither lately by the Constable, that the King Catholic gave it to be understood that he would consent to a suspension of hostilities for six months, having however assured the Queen of England that he would never leave St. Quentin nor the other fortresses of Picardy without the restitution of Calais.

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I am also told on good authority that M. de Vaudemont brought hither a form of treaty given him at Brussels, and according to its articles King Philip would make peace; and having shown this document to King Henry, his Majesty, after reading the first articles about the restitution of Savoy and Piedmont, immediately ceased its perusal, and being vexed, he said, "Enough, I will read it afterwards."

A report circulates of a muster of troops at Valenciennes for an attack on La Capelle, a place of great importance on the frontier of Picardy, but nothing being heard as yet of any extraordinary provision there is apparently no fear.

Moret, 18th March 1558.

[*Italian.*]

March 19. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

1199. MICHIEL SURIAN, Venetian Ambassador with King Philip, to the DOGE and SENATE.

I wrote my last on the 14th, *and on the morrow the right reverend Legate departed privily and suddenly* (secretamente et alla sprovista) *for Italy, not having chosen to let it be known to anyone. To go more safely he travels in disguise, and with only five post horses as far as Augsburg, where he will wait for part of his household, and proceed on his journey with more accompaniment* (con più compagnia), *as beyond Augsburg there is no more danger. On that morning the King went out hunting, and the Cardinal, having dined with him in the country, mounted on horseback immediately after dinner, and went to Namur that evening. These last conversations passed off very lovingly, and much to the satisfaction of both sides. As already written by me, the Cardinal's object was, under pretence of treating the peace and adjustment of the religion, to arrange his own affairs and those of his family, but as to the peace, he did little or nothing, as your Serenity will have heard from time to time by my letters, and by the writing, declaring the King's will, which I sent on the 10th. In this matter nothing is visible, save that when the difficulties which delay the matter are removed, and some point remaining in the end for settlement, his Majesty is content to refer it to the judgment of his Holiness; and these are the precise words of the writing, the interpretation of which by Cardinal Caraffa is that his Majesty refers the entire negotiation to the Pope, as he says the King of France has also done* (che sua Maestà rimetta tutta la trattatione nel Pontefice, come dice che ha fatto anchor il Re di Franza).

It also seems that there is not a very good understanding between the Cardinal and his brothers, his Lordship being dissatisfied with them, and they with him; and I have been told that several times at Rome abusive language passed between him and the Duke of Paliano, and had not the Lord Pietro Strozzi placed himself between them, they would even have proceeded farther. One day the Cardinal complained to me greatly that the Marquis [*Montebello*] *communicated everything to the Duke of Alva, to whom he said that his right reverend Lordship had authority to conclude, and to do*

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what he pleased, and reminded the Duke not to let him depart hence until this business be settled (fin che non si risolva questo negotio); *and he spoke to me with so much passion and anger that he could scarcely restrain his tears.*

The Marquis obtained favour with the King and all these lords, as likewise a character for goodness and sincerity, so that he is loved and caressed by everybody, and thinks of returning with his son to reside at this court.

Thus did the two brothers depart, a Bolognese remaining here as agent and inter-nuncio until the return of the Bishop of Terracina, who will have to reside at this court.

Brussels, 19th March 1558.

[*Italian, in cipher; the portion in italics deciphered by Signor Luigi Pasini.*]

March 20. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

1200. MICHIEL SURIAN, Venetian Ambassador with King Philip, to the DOGE and SENATE.

From various things said to me by his Majesty I elicited that the French are strengthening themselves on these frontiers, but more slowly than was said some days ago, and that, although they are raising troops in Germany, they have not yet a sufficient number to do anything of importance, nor is it even heard that they have any expedition in hand. This side, on the other hand, has made due provision everywhere, and everything is secure, St. Quentin and those frontiers having been abundantly victualled, besides which, orders have been given to fortify the frontiers towards Calais; and for this purpose the Duke of Savoy went with Ascanio dalla Cornia and the engineer, G. Thomaso dalla Schala, to commence with Berbourg and to complete the works at Gravelines and St. Omer, and with those three places that quarter will be secured. His Majesty will also have a part of the "Blacksmiths" who served him last year, and has therefore sent them their arrears of pay as stipulated; and he will have six regiments of Germans, four from Upper Germany and two from Lower Germany, one part of them being actually in service on these frontiers; the payment of these troops to be derived from the subsidy promised by the States, one third of which will be spent in raising foreign troops, and the other two thirds on those of the country.

The King also told me what had taken place at the Diet of Frankfort about proclaiming the King of the Romans Emperor, and concerning the protest made by the Count Palatine against the coronation being performed by the Pope. *With regard to what was told me in secret heretofore,* and which was subsequently divulged through the court, viz., that the most serene King would have Imperial authority in Italy, when I (now?) dropped a word about this to his Majesty, he told me that he has no other authority in Italy than what he derives from the States possessed by him there, and that he does not wish for it, because he has as much trust in the new*

* See letter, dated Brussels, 13th February 1558.

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Emperor as he had in his own father, and from his Imperial Majesty he expects all assistance on every occasion.

Subsequently, when speaking with his Majesty about the Turkish fleet, he greatly commended your Serenity's prudence in securing your affairs, having to do with an enemy who, for the misfortune of Christendom, has become so powerful and insolent that he holds no one in account; and he said that he likewise had been in consultation lately, and gave the necessary orders for the defence and conservation of his realms, having also conceded some assistance demanded of him to Malta, and that he hopes to secure himself in every quarter, so that the Turks may be prevented from doing what is desired by the French.

Brussels, 20th March 1558.

[*Italian, partly in cipher; the portions in italics deciphered by Signor Luigi Pasini.*]

March 20. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

1201. MICHIEL SURIAN, Venetian Ambassador with King Philip, to the DOGE and SENATE.

Yesterday evening there arrived here the auditor of the Legate Trivultio, who came hither express from France with letters of credence to Cardinal Caraffa, or, in his absence, to the Bishop of Terracina, but not having found either one or the other, he went to Don Ruy Gomez, together with the person who has remained here as the Cardinal's agent, and stated his commission, which is to effect a conference between two or more confidants of these kings to set forward this affair of the peace.

Brussels, 20th March 1558.

[*Italian, partly in cipher; the portions in italics deciphered by Signor Luigi Pasini.*]

March 22. Original Dispatch, Venetian Archives.

1202. GIOVANNI MICHIEL, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

When the Legate had audience of the King, to make the announcement from Cardinal Caraffa, his stay at Brussels being useless, as King Philip was content to refer to the Pope's arbitration whatever could not be adjusted by other means with King Henry, that henceforth, through the intervention of the ministers and ambassadors of the two crowns, the affairs might be treated in the presence of his Holiness himself; this proposal was not only not received contemptuously, as was feared by the Legate, the identical offer being, on the contrary, made by his Majesty himself, and confirmed by the Cardinal of Lorraine, who said that "if by other means, and especially by a conference of ministers, matters could not be adjusted, he would not fail to demonstrate to the Pope that he continued to place the same trust in him as he had shown him from the commencement, when Cardinal Caraffa was sent hither for the same negotiation."* With regard, however, to the conference, they are still waiting for news of what may have been done by the Legate's Auditor, who was sent to Brussels, being followed by a courier to

* For the arrival of the Legate Caraffa at Fontainebleau on the 16th June 1556, see Venetian Calendar, vol. 6, part 1, p. 484.

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warn him that, should he not find there either Cardinal Caraffa or any resident nuncio, he was to return immediately. Such and so great is this Legate's respect for Cardinal Caraffa, that neither in this nor in any other business will he do aught without his knowledge and consent, choosing to attribute to him whatever authority he can, rendering it notorious that the proposals in this matter are in the first place all made by him, and emanate from this source.

Particulars touching the intended despatch of Marshal de Brissac to Piedmont, to assist the Turkish fleet in an attack on Genoa.

They are also intent on the despatch of the Vidame* to Scotland, with whom ten companies of Germans will cross, besides many others of Frenchmen, as in that direction they will make the strongest effort to harass the English, and turn aside their forces.

I hear on good authority that the Duchess of Lorraine is exerting herself, for that the Constable, by giving security in 300,000 or 400,000 crowns, may be taken under good custody to Nanci in Lorraine, and have convenience to remain there during three months, so that in the meanwhile he may be seen, and more easily treat the affair of the agreement with his Majesty's ministers, and with his Majesty himself; to the which Constable I understand that the King lately wrote a letter in his own hand throughout, replete with infinite friendship, his most Christian Majesty continuing more than ever to speak of him, when the opportunity presents itself, with much affection.

Moret, 22nd March 1558.

[*Italian.*]

March 24. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

1203. MICHIEL SURIAN, Venetian Ambassador with King Philip, to the DOGE and SENATE.

Having obtained audience of the King, I performed the office in favour of the peace in the manner enjoined me, and his Majesty, in reply, greatly commended your Serenity for so earnestly seeking peace. He told me that the Auditor had proposed to him a conference in which to discuss particulars, but it had been seen on former occasions that these conferences produced no good effect, as nothing passed at them but mutual recrimination about past offences and injuries: besides which, at the last conference held at Calais (*sic*),† the French, with the convenience they had for investigating his Majesty's affairs, and spying, laid a plot to rob him of his towns, *by which I believe him to have meant Douai and Calais, as Douai was attempted by the Admiral more than a year ago, which caused the rupture of the truce, and it is said that since more than six years the French had been practising against Calais.* His Majesty then added that it would be better for the mediators of this peace themselves to treat the particulars, and possibly (*et facilmente*) the negotiation, reducing the difficulties to a few heads, which might then be more easily terminated in a conference.

* François de Vendôme, Vidame de Chartres. (See the late Sir William Hackett's Index to Foreign Calendar, "Mary.")

† At Marck, in the Calais pale. (See p. 80, Part I. of this volume, date May 23, 1555.)

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From the King I went to Don Ruy Gomez, with whom I performed the same office. Speaking about the gentleman who came from France, he told me that this gentleman being addressed to Cardinal Caraffa or to the Nuncio, and having found neither of them, no answer could be given him, either by his Majesty or by the Council. I prayed his Lordship not to let any opportunity escape for bringing this business to a good end.

To-day the Auditor of Cardinal Trivulcio came to tell me *that Don Ruy Gomez sent word to him to put to writing what he has in commission, that it may be seen in the Council, as he did immediately, and presented the writing to-day; so he hopes for some good reply.*

Brussels, 24th March 1558.

[*Italian, partly in cipher; the portions in italics deciphered by Signor Luigi Pasini.*]

March 25. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

1204. The SAME to the SAME.

According to your Serenity's order, I have been with the Duke of Alva, and performed the warmest office I could with his Excellency about the affair of the peace. He spoke at great length about the nature of Frenchmen, and said that they have no right to any state, and that whatever they acquire they choose it all to be theirs, by right; that they annex to the crown all that they take, so that when the occasion comes for restoring, they may excuse themselves; that it seems that they have little state in Italy, but they have Piedmont and Savoy there, and the whole territory commencing with Bayonne on the ocean-sea (mare oceano) *on the confines of Spain, and from Calais on this other northern ocean* (sopra questo altro oceano settentrionale) *as far as Valenza, which belongs to the state of Milan; and they have not only Turin and Casale in Italy, but Paris and all the towns of France, so that from Paris to Valenza they can go as securely as any man can go over his own house; nor is Italy any longer defended by the Alps, as they have all been made French* (poichè sono fatte tutte de'Francesi); *that he marvels at the Emperor's having been suspected of aspiring to (universal) monarchy* (alla monarchia), *and that now there should be no suspicion about the King of France, who has his forces in the heart of Italy, and in greater number than the Emperor ever had. That it is manifest that the French do not wish for peace, nor would they keep it if they had it, because they are always intent on occupying what belongs to others. King Philip on the contrary, from his wish for quiet, has given away his own, as the French have now for boundary of their state, in Italy the Po, and in Germany the Rhine, and they are always meaning to advance farther; so it is necessary for this King always to have arms in his hands against them, until the one humble and crush the other, so that when one of these kings be humbled and crushed, the remaining one will be monarch, and the world will thus be at peace, as every one will be compelled to remain at his discretion; nor will this result be long delayed, for it will certainly take place this year or the next, and this must be considered certain, because*

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both the two are exhausted, and continue exhausting themselves, and the one who at the end remains with vigour will be the lord of everything. His Excellency continued, that the King of France cannot be trusted, and that he now appears inclined towards peace, because he has many deficiencies; that he has exhausted all his funds, has lost his chief cabinet and military councillors, has ruined his cavalry, which is the nerve of his forces; so he will now talk of peace, to put this King to sleep, and have time to recruit himself, and when recruited he will immediately give rise to some occasion for making war, or will indeed make it without waiting for the occasion, as the French by nature desire nothing but war.

Brussels, 25th March 1558.

[*Italian, in cipher; deciphered by Signor Luigi Pasini.*]

March 26. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

1205. MICHIEL SURIAN, Venetian Ambassador with King Philip, to the DOGE and SENATE.

Yesterday the Auditor of the Legate in France had the reply from the Secretary Gonzalo Perez, in the name of the Royal Council, thus, that as to the agreement proposed by him, it was unnecessary to give him any farther reply, as it is not sent either to the King, or to any of the council; but he is not to return by the frontiers by which he came, though if he wishes to follow the Legate Caraffa, a letter will be given him addressed to that Cardinal on this subject.

Brussels, 26th March 1558.

[*Italian.*]

March 26. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

1206. GIOVANNI MICHIEL, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

To execute the commissions in your Serenity's three sets of letters dated the 5th instant, I went yesterday to the King and congratulated him in your name on the acquisitions of Guisnes and Hammes, and on his good disposition towards the peace. His Majesty returned the usual thanks to your Serenity, and said that he had lately given his assent to the Legate Trivulci to assemble the chief ministers, to save time and labour, and to smooth difficulties, and come to a conclusion, but that they reciprocated badly. He repeated what had been said to me just before more diffusely by the Cardinal of Lorraine, as your Serenity will hear, with this in addition, that his Majesty heard that King Philip's ministers had not a good understanding together, and especially the Duke of Savoy and Ruy Gomez, each of whom pretend that they are to be the chief in every negotiation, and openly resenting that the one should be referred to before the other; which proceeding, coupled with others, gave, he said, but little hope of success in this negotiation.

I also performed offices about the peace with the Queen and all these principal ministers, and with the Legate; and the Cardinal of Lorraine, discoursing with me very confidentially both at dinner and afterwards on many subjects, said that notwithstanding the offices performed by him through divers channels, he did not see,

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on the part of King Philip, any decision about the proposals made to him from hence, a long time having elapsed since this conference of the principal ministers with sufficient authority from their princes to conclude was proposed, and nevertheless nothing had ever been settled. He also said that having been requested to hold an interview with the Duchess of Lorraine, he consented to do so, and wrote to her accordingly, but never received any answer, nor has anything more been said about it.

The Cardinal then recounted the relation brought by M. de Merci, the Constable's third son,* who was lately released on paying a ransom of 12,000 crowns, and M. de St. Sulpice, the Constable's gentleman, who was sent from hence by the King, they having returned together, of a conversation between the Duke of Savoy and the Constable when the Duke went to visit him (he not having been visited by anyone until then), in the course of which the Duke spoke as haughtily as possible these words: "Monsieur the Constable, I choose to have my own; otherwise you must not think of agreement." The Cardinal added that M. de Vaudemont had laboured indefatigably with him for the restoration of the Duke.

When I remarked to the Cardinal that regard for England and her interest perhaps rendered King Philip's decision more difficult, he said that the Duke of Savoy in his conversation with the Constable showed that his Majesty did not hold those matters in much account. The Cardinal said also that with great difficulty could Queen Mary obtain money from her subjects, who were most discontented (*malissimo contenti*), and that a report circulated all over Flanders of her having been delivered of a son; which news having been announced to the Constable, he, with a very imperturbable countenance, said, "Well, arrangements must be made for christening him," showing his derision of it, as a vanity (*cosa vana*), which it was proved to be at the end of three days. His right reverend Lordship then said that Cardinal Caraffa had been despatched but little to his satisfaction, he having been offered a pension of 10,000 crowns on the see of Toledo, and a revenue of 10,000 for his brothers, provided Marc'Antonio Colonna and Ascanio della Cornia be re-instated.

Moret, 26th March 1558.

[*Italian.*]

March 27. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

1207. GIOVANNI MICHIEL, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.†

Through a letter written from Marseilles to the Nuncio here, by the Signor Cesare Cantelini, who is charged to take the Pope's great-nephews to Rome, the Legate heard that the Count of Tenda, the Governor of Provence, after having gone forth to meet them, an-

* By the late Sir William Hackett's Index to Foreign Calendar, "Mary," Gabriel de Montmorency, taken prisoner at St. Quentin, had the title of Baron de Montferon, and as suggested by Mr. Kirk, Merci was probably an abridgment for Montmorency.

† This letter gives a clue to the full meaning of the word "stay" in a despatch from Sir Edward Carne to Queen Mary, date Rome, 17th March 1558 (Foreign Calendar, p. 365).

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nounced the order from the King to forbid their departure. On the Nuncio going to the King to hear the cause of this arrest, the King told him, that he had been moved to do it, because certain despatches from the court of King Philip having been intercepted in the neighbourhood of Gravelines, there was found amongst them a letter purporting that Cardinal Caraffa had agreed with King Philip to seize (*di levar*) those fortresses of Mont' Alcino and others held by his most Christian Majesty in Tuscany, keeping the resolution secret until it was known that his Holiness' great-nephews had departed hence and were arrived in Italy. His Majesty sent that letter instantly to his ambassador at Rome that he might show it to the Pope, to learn whether what was agreed to according to the said letter by Cardinal Caraffa corresponded to his Holiness' will; but perceiving that the reply was so long delayed, he had determined to have leave given them. The King promised to write a letter to Count di Tenda with this resolve.

Moret, 27th March 1558.

[*Italian.*]

March 30. MS. St. Mark's Library. Cod. XXIV., Cl. X., p. 195 verso.

1208. CARDINAL POLE to the FATHER CONFESSOR (of King Philip?) AFRESNEDA (*sic*) [de Fresneda.]*

As on several accounts Pole now thinks fit to write to the Pope, he has not chosen to send the letter without first of all hearing the Confessor's opinion of it, and has therefore charged his familiar, Messer Gio. Francesco, to communicate the copy of it, as also that of another letter written by him to the Cardinal of Trani†; and should the Confessor see any objection to Pole's sending them, he requests him with his usual kindness to let him know.

Greenwich, 30th March 1558.

[*Italian.*]

[March 30.] Cod. XXIV., Cl. X., pp. 224 (verso) to p. 226 (recto), without any date of time or place.‡

1209. CARDINAL POLE to POPE PAUL IV.

The death of Cardinal Durante having been announced to him§ although he had heard previously that the Pope had deprived his (Pole's) familiar, Luigi Priuli, of the "*jus accessus*" to the bishopric of Brescia, which at the request of the Venetian Signory had been conferred on him by Julius III., nevertheless, as no one can have better knowledge of Priuli's piety, doctrine (*doctrinam*), and virtue, by reason of so many years' intimacy and intercourse, Pole considers it his duty to request his Holiness to put Priuli in possession of the see. Born of a most noble family, and thus having the path open to him in his own country for an honourable career, he neglected it, and for twenty years and upwards has followed Pole in great danger

* See Foreign Calendar, "Mary," pp. 364, 365.

† Gianbernardino Scoto, created cardinal by Paul IV., had the Pope's entire confidence, and according to Cardella (vol. 4, p. 345) was authorised by him to use "the fisherman's ring" for the confirmation of any papal bulls he pleased.

‡ Printed in vol. 5, pp. 31–36, "Epistolarum Reginaldi Poli," dated London, 30 May 1558.

§ Durante de Duranti, a Brescian by birth, elected Bishop of Brescia by Pope Julius III. in the year 1551, died in that city at the end of December 1557.

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and in exile, sharing all the toils and perils undergone by him for the Church, and leading such a life as never to give any suspicion of ambition or avarice.

The Pope will, however, perhaps say, Who art thou who darest bear such ample testimony in favour of a man whose name has been denounced to the presidency of the Inquisition for heresy? Pole is bound to be more averse than any one else to heretics and schismatics, as never did any calamity befall him (and the Pope knows better than any one how grievous and incessant they were), save such as proceeded from such men, and on account solely of the Catholic religion. Some one, however, will say, If thy name also was denounced on suspicion of the same crime, what weight can thy recommendation have in this case? As much assuredly as conspicuous deeds done in favour of the Church and of the Catholic religion ought to outweigh what is said by those who dare not allege against Pole openly either words or deeds, because they have none. Pole hears, nevertheless, that they are now drawing up what they call a process concerning the accusations brought against him, and this first became known to him at the time of the arrest of his very dear friend (their intimacy being notorious), Cardinal Morone,* but of this fact the Pope did not give Pole notice when he annulled his legantine authority. What then is Pole to say to this? First of all, that he ought to rely more on the Pope's words than on any demonstrations or on any reports from all the rest of the world; the which words the Pope spoke to the English ambassador,† and to Pole's messengers whom he had sent to Rome, thus—that whatever he did in this case was not done to offend Pole, but because his Holiness being at war with King Philip, he did not think it fitting, having recalled all his Legates and Nuncios from his Majesty's other realms and signories, to retain a Legate in the kingdom of England. As the Pope assigned this reason for annulling Pole's legation (although the condition of this country differs from that of the others), he did not dare to interpret the Pope's mind otherwise than the Pope himself had interpreted it. Shortly after the reconciliation, however, the Pope replaced the Nuncios in the King's other realms, sending Cardinal Caraffa, his nephew, as Legate to him. When, pursuant to letters and messages from the Queen, from the Prelates and nobility (*statuum*), and from every condition of persons in England, the English ambassador asked his Holiness to restore the legateship to Pole, he always delayed to do so; and at length, as heard by Pole, the Pope allowed the report to circulate that a process had been made against him. How is Pole to interpret the Pope's mind in this matter? Ought that to be sufficient to explain the Pope's opinion and will, which he announced to the English ambassador when he so earnestly urged him to restore his legateship to Pole—that this is God's affair? Assuredly when he said this, and not what the ambassador requested,

* Cardinal Morone was imprisoned in Castle St. Angelo on the 31st May 1557. See Navagero's despatch of that date.

† See Sir Edward Carne's letter to Queen Mary, date Rome 15th May 1557, in the late Mr. Turnbull's Calendar, Mary, p. 307.

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he seemed to signify as much, but that he would do what God commanded him to do, so as to satisfy his duty and piety towards God. What then? Does God command that the son be slain by the father?

Is conscious of never having done anything to forfeit the Pope's goodwill, having on the contrary effected many things which should have rendered him more dear to his Holiness. Through Pole's faithful ministry in England, which was preceded by the exertions and authority of her most pious sovereigns, the reconciliation and obedience of the Church were offered to the Pope as first fruits. Is it then for this that he is preparing to pierce Pole's soul with the sword of sorrow? If the Pope acts thus to satisfy his conscience before God, God will savour the sacrifice; but Pole hopes, if the Pope acts by God's order, that God will no more permit him to complete it than he permitted Abraham to slay Isaac. Pole indeed, at the time when, like a lamb, he betook himself to that Pope who made him Cardinal, remembers having said to him when prostrate at the foot of the altar, as usual, being about to receive the insignia of the cardinalate, that he was there as a victim; but he assuredly never expected to be again sacrificed by a father, especially when he (Pole) had left here a ram (*ariem*) caught in the thicket, the Bishop of Rochester [John Fisher], who was immolated. If as a lamb Pole then escaped death, having now become a ram, is he to be again exposed to death, and to a much more cruel one? If this be the will of God, Pole will always repeat, God will savour the sacrifice!

If, however, this attempt (*hæc tentatio*) proceed from God, Pole cannot have the slightest doubt but that when the time of sacrifice arrives, the sacrificer will be stayed (*sit impediturus*), as the Lord did by Isaac; nor does Pole entertain this hope solely for himself, but also for Cardinal Morone and Priuli, the Pope being now sword in hand against them all.

Pole now sees God sending angels to stay the Pope's hand holding the process of accusation like a threatening sword over their heads; for he sees the most Serene Philip and Mary, Catholic Kings, and Defenders of the Faith, he also sees men of piety, coming like a legion of angels to interpose themselves between them and the sword lest they be put to death. Pole not only hears but sees how in England the Pope commenced triumphing, chiefly over those who seem to be practising against him (Pole) at Rome.

Pole's prayer is that in like manner as Christ is wont to place his dearest children in purgatory (*ad inferos*) to try them, and if after trial they be found worthy of Him to redeem them, the Pope will act thus with Pole, Morone, and Priuli, and after having placed them in purgatory will now rescue them.

[Greenwich, 30th March 1558?]

[*Latin.*]

April 1. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

1210. GIOVANNI MICHIEL, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

Nothing is attended to here but provision for the war, M. d'Andelot, who during his brother's absence performs the office of

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Admiral, having been sent to inspect the ports and all the other maritime places of Normandy and Britanny, and to order the fitting out of the greatest possible number of vessels, not only to secure that coast from invasion by the enemy, but to put to sea and give them battle in the greatest force they can. There have also been despatched from hence upwards of fifty infantry captains, the greater part however without money, as being in easy circumstances (*che come persone commode*) they offered not only to raise the companies at their own cost, but to take them in like manner to the muster places, to be then reimbursed, and paid from that time forth. These captains are almost all natives of Provence or Gascony, and the greater part of them are destined for Scotland and Piedmont, whither Marshal Brissac will depart next week; and he is to have under his command one thousand "Blacksmith" cavalry, of the first who arrive, three hundred men-at-arms, and twenty ensigns of Germans.

Moret, 1st April 1558.

[*Italian.*]

April 14. **1211.** CARDINAL POLE to CARDINAL CARLO CARAFFA.

MS. St. Mark's Library, Cod. xxiv. Cl. X., p. 195 verso.

Has received Caraffa's letter written to him on his departure from Brussels, and heard with great pleasure how satisfied he was with King Philip, as Pole always hoped would be the case, knowing his Majesty's good and pious disposition, which he trusts will become daily more known, and render him more dear to the Pope, for the benefit and quiet of Christendom, and for the comfort of Caraffa himself and his most illustrious family. Thus may it please Divine Providence, and that the Pope be fully comforted by seeing these Princes at peace; and thanking Caraffa for his loving letter, he kisses his hand, recommending himself to his good grace, and praying him most humbly to kiss the Pope's feet in Pole's name.

Greenwich, 14th April 1558.

[*Italian.*]

April 14. **1212.** CARDINAL POLE to DON JUAN DE VEGA, Super-President (*sopra Presidente*) of the Royal Council.

MS. St. Mark's Library, Cod. xxiv., Cl. X., pp. 195 verso & 196 recto.

As Pole has occasion to send to Spain an agent (who will present this letter to Vega) for the recovery of certain moneys due to him from the Cardinal of Burgos and others, he by this opportunity has willed to visit Vega with these few lines, congratulating him on what he heard from Signor Antonio Cassagera, both about his good state, and the great benefit and satisfaction which the people there (*quei populi*) acknowledge more and more daily, owing to Vega's justice and prudence. Cassagera saluted Pole lovingly in his name, for which he thanks Vega, and requests him to be pleased to favour his messenger in whatever he may chance to require with regard to the business he is going to transact. Recommends himself much to Vega, praying the Lord God long to preserve and prosper him.

Greenwich, 14th April 1558.

[*Italian.*]

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April 14. MS. St. Mark's Library, Cod. XXIV. Cl. x., p. 196 recto and verso.

1213. CARDINAL POLE to the CARDINAL OF BURGOS.

Whilst the Cardinal of Burgos was in Italy, Pole always attributed the nonpayment of the arrears of his pension on that see to the Cardinal's agent being unable to doubt his goodwill both towards justice and towards Pole personally. Now, therefore, the Cardinal being in Spain, Pole hoped and hopes for full payment without further delay of the arrears due to him, and that for the future he may always receive what he is entitled to from the Cardinal at the fixed terms, and prays him thus to do with all earnestness. For this purpose Pole sends his Chamberlain, Giovanni di Ugaldo, who will present this letter to the Cardinal, with power to receive the money, and give receipts in Pole's name, he having received permission from the King to export it, as likewise what shall be paid him hereafter by the Cardinal, whom he requests to the utmost to despatch Ugaldo speedily, that he, Pole, may be enabled to avail himself of his money, of which he has great need in ordinary, and most especially in these times.

Of his state Pole will say no more, referring Burgos to the messenger, and congratulating him on attaining his pious wish to visit his church. Prays God to favour him from good to better for His service and for the benefit of the people committed to his care, and, recommending himself to the Cardinal's good grace, he humbly kisses his hand.

Greenwich, 14th April 1558.

[*Italian.*]

April 16. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

1214. MICHIEL SURIAN, Venetian Ambassador with King Philip, to the DOGE and SENATE.

As within an hour a gentleman is departing hence express for Italy, I write these few words, reserving fuller details for the ordinary post. On Holy Saturday* I announced the arrival of the Secretary Concini to treat the agreement with the Duke of Ferrara; he has not yet been despatched, but is expecting the decision from day to day.

The negotiation proceeds very secretly, but from a person of authority I have heard that it consists in this, that the Duke of Ferrara will have back all his castles, and will not be bound to any particular obligation with King Philip, but will merely consent not to give assistance to the King of France against his Majesty. This Secretary Concino came the other day to visit me, and said that his Duke had caused particular account of the whole of this affair to be given to your Serenity, that you might favour its execution, which he was convinced would be agreeable to you also, for the quiet of Italy. I did not give him to understand either that I would or would not perform an office with the King on this subject.

From Concino's words, and from what I have heard from others, I comprehend that King Philip is dissatisfied with this negotiation of the Duke of Florence, it seeming to him that the particulars of this agreement are but little to his repute, and very honourable for

* This letter written on the 9th April has not been found.

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the Duke of Ferrara; and Ascanio dalla Cornia, who is lodged in the house of the ambassador from Florence, Concino also residing there, when supping with me yesterday evening, said it was no wonder the decision of this business should be so long delayed, as disagreeable things are done unwillingly; neither is it surprising if they proceed so secretly, as it is too disgraceful for King Philip; and he added that the Duke of Ferrara will have gained much by discovering the weakness of this King, from whom alone he could fear injury. When I asked him what he thought would be the end of this business, he replied that an agreement would be made on any terms, as they cannot do otherwise, and that although the King bears the Duke of Ferrara illwill, and would wish to injure him, he will nevertheless postpone his determination until another and more convenient season, and will break with him whenever the opportunity presents itself.

Concerning the peace with France, about which, as written by me,* Don Ruy Gomez went to speak with the Constable,† I do not hear that there is any firm hope, *and Calderon, the secretary of Don Ruy Gomez,* says that everything is done in order that these lords may be more tardy in providing beforehand, but that in the meanwhile the French are increasing their forces on the frontiers, and that the Count Palatine, the Duke of Saxony, and the Landgrave are raising troops for them in Germany, it having also been heard yesterday that in the environs of Compiegne there are already under arms 15,000 infantry, and many standards (*stendardi*) of horse, but your Serenity will have more certain advice of all this through France.

Brussels, 16th April 1558.

[*Italian, partly in cipher; the portions in italics deciphered by Signor Luigi Pasini.*]

April 21. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

1215. MICHIEL SURIAN, Venetian Ambassador with King Philip, to the DOGE and SENATE.

About the peace with France, I was told by the King and Don Ruy Gomez that at the latter's parley with the Constable nothing was settled, because they did not approve of the proposal made by him, that the Duke of Savoy should marry the daughter of M. de St. Pol, widow of the Duke d'Enghien,‡ who has for dower some estates in France, yielding an annual rental of 40,000 ducats. And in the course of the conversation, Montmorency said to Ruy Gomez, that his most Christian Majesty justly possessed Savoy and Piedmont, both by several ancient rights, and because they are his patrimony, having been left him by his father King Francis who was master of them before his death; and because they are the gate of the kingdom of France, through which the Emperor passed several times, to ravage that realm; so he could not do less than secure himself; and besides, the Duke of Savoy has professed himself the

* Letter not found.

† Qu. at Haguenau. See before in letter dated 10th March.

‡ Bourbon, Jean de, slain at St. Quentin. (See the late Sir William Hackett's Index to Foreign Calendar "Mary," p. 473.)

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open enemy of the King of France. Don Ruy Gomez answered him that this convention was neither just nor honourable, and that the Duke would not consent to accept such terms; that if the Duke had been the enemy of the King of France, it was by force, and not by will, because he had been deprived of what belonged to him; and that it is one thing to secure one's self, and another to enter your neighbour's house, as he did by coming to the gates of Milan. In this conversation it was also said, both by Montmorency and Ruy Gomez, that the peace between these two Kings can be prevented by nothing but this alone, there being no cause to say anything more about their ancient claims, so many events having happened subsequently on one side and the other, that there could not be any difference of moment, and as for any difficulty about the occupation of one or two towns here or there, it was so small a matter as to admit of easy adjustment. Ruy Gomez reported everything to the Duke of Savoy, who, to avoid showing himself in any way at variance with King Philip, would not consent to this adjustment, and sent word to the Constable indignantly that he has no cause to thank him or to treat him well, as he who professes to be his dear friend and kinsman (*parente*)* thinks of treating him so ill.

Ruy Gomez also told me that they have advices that King Henry would willingly consent to make peace, though he nevertheless told me that *he has no hope of it, because although this difficulty alone remained, it was nevertheless of very great importance.*

Here in the meanwhile they do not fail to provide for the war, and it is said that they will soon have an army on foot numbering 30,000 infantry, and 12,000 horse, part Germans and Spaniards, and part Flemings (*gente del paese*); nor will they have any lack of money, it being reported that besides the contracts made with the Genoese merchants, to the amount of upwards of 800,000 ducats, they get this year more than a million of crowns from those States; and they are also expecting a good sum from England.

Brussels, 21st April 1558.

[*Italian, partly in cipher; the portion in italics deciphered by Signor Luigi Pasini.*]

April 25. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

1216. GIOVANNI MICHIEL, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

Yesterday the wedding and espousal (*le nozze et sponsalitio*) of the Dauphin and the Queen of Scotland terminated; and on that same night the consummation took place, the bride having completed her fifteenth year at the commencement of last December, the bridegroom being fourteen years old on the 18th January last. These nuptials were really considered the most regal and triumphant of any that have been witnessed in this kingdom for many years, whether from the concourse of the chief personages of the realm both temporal and spiritual thus assembled, there being present and assisting at all the solemnities the Cardinal Legate, and all the other ambassadors, or from the pomp and richness of

* The wife of the Constable, Anne de Montmorency, was the sister of Onorato, Count of Tenda, son of Villars, Count of Tenda, an illegitimate scion of the House of Savoy.

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the jewels and apparel both of the lords and ladies; or from the grandeur of the banquet and stately service of the table (*et qualità dell' apparato*); or from the costly devices of the masquerades and similar revels. In short, nothing whatever that could possibly be desired was wanting for the embellishment of such a spectacle, except jousts and tournaments, which were reserved for a more convenient opportunity, either at the end of the war, or when any agreement shall be made, it not having been chosen to put the lords and gentlemen to any greater expense than what they incur in ordinary, as they have yet to equip themselves for the campaign of the present year. The diversions and banquets will continue during the whole of this week, two or three other marriages of the chief personages of the court having to be concluded, and amongst them, that of Marshal Strozzi's daughter to the son of the Count of Tenda; the Cardinal of Lorraine moreover, before his departure, choosing to honour his niece the Queen of Scotland with an especial entertainment in his own house. This solemnity has by so much the more gratified and contented the Parisian populace (amongst whom money was thrown on entering the church as a mark of greater rejoicing) as for two hundred years and upwards there is no record of any Dauphin having been married within the realm, all on the contrary marrying abroad, and bringing their wives, after the ceremony, either from Spain, or from England, from Flanders, or from Germany, according to their consorts' nativity. Henceforth, the Dauphin will no longer be styled simply "the Dauphin," but "the King Dauphin" (and thus was he proclaimed by the heralds), and the Queen in like manner will be called, "the Queen Dauphiness," the two crowns of France and of Scotland being united in their arms; and if not with this despatch, with my next, your Serenity will learn this from the marriage contract itself, the copy of it having been promised me by the Scottish ambassadors. I have already offered such congratulations as required to the most Christian King and Queen, to the spouses, and to all these lords of the house of Guise; nor concerning these nuptials will I omit to mention that on the day of the hand-giving (*il giorno del dar della mano*) after performance of that ceremony, during the first dance, danced by the Princes in company with the King, one of the dancers being the King of Navarre, he, in the act of passing before me whispered in my ear, "Ambassador, thou this day seest the conclusion of a fact, which very few persons credited until now," thus confirming what was said to me a few days ago on the same subject by the Cardinal of Lorraine, that the King's chief reason for wishing the marriage to take place was that he might no longer be pestered (*acciocchè non li fusse più rotta la testa*), whenever the agreement was discussed, with proposals for some other matrimonial alliance; as now, no one could any longer hope to thwart or impede this result, and that they would consequently turn their thoughts to something else; hinting also at the Constable amongst the other opponents of the marriage.

As written by me, in my foregoing letters of the 18th* the Cardinal of Lorraine is only waiting for his safe conduct for himself

* Missing.

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and his attendants, to go and meet the Duchess of Lorraine between Peronne and Cambrai, he having already sent her from hence a similar licence to pass. The whole court has very great hope of an agreement, from this interview, it being said that through the mediation of M. de Vaudemont, King Philip comes to such fair terms that it would be reprehensible not to accept them; but the Cardinal cloaks the conference, under the pretence of taking the Duke of Lorraine to his mother the Duchess, owing to the suit made by her to see him, that she may treat with him about many of their private affairs, the Duke having nearly attained his majority, so that he will now very soon have to assume the rule of what belongs to him.

Respecting the hope of an agreement, Marshal Strozzi, whom I know to be the mouth-piece of the Cardinal himself, and of M. de Guise, as two days ago they were a long while in his company, having gone to see him, as did the Queen, now that he lives in retirement to cure himself of a violent catarrhal attack, told me that he sees little hope of it.

Paris, 25th April 1558.

[*Italian.*]

April 27. Original Despatch Venetian Archives.

1217. MICHIEL SURIAN, Venetian Ambassador with King Philip, to the DOGE and SENATE.

In my last of the 23rd and 25th, I wrote that his Majesty had determined to send the Duke of Sesa as Governor to Milan, and Don Juan Manrique as Viceroy to Naples, *which thing, although it was done with the consent of the Duke of Alva, has nevertheless attached a little blame to his Excellency, and diminished the authority enjoyed by him previously, many things moreover being said by the vulgar against that Duke, as usually happened to those who, having been once great, commence declining; so the general opinion is that his Excellency will not remain long at the Court; and, he has already given it to be understood that he shall go and rest* (a riposar) *in Spain, which will render Don Ruy Gomez absolute lord of everything. This sudden and resolute decision formed by the most serene King has given everybody to understand that, where necessary, he will show himself warm and executive* (calda et esecutiva), *and not cold and submissive* (rispettiva), *as was believed.*

Brussels, 27th April 1558.

[*Italian, partly in cipher; the portion in italics deciphered by Signor Luigi Pasini.*]

April 28. Original Despatch Venetian Archives.

1218. MICHIEL SURIAN, Venetian Ambassador with King Philip, to the DOGE and SENATE.

From what I can hear, although the peace of France is desired, there is but little hope of it, especially because the French continue reinforcing themselves, many troops passing from Germany to serve the most Christian King, although they come one after another, the new Emperor having forbidden any muster-place (*piazza a gente*) throughout the Empire for enlistment of troops,

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destined for service out of Germany; but it seems that in a castle near Worms there are French commissaries who give money to all those who cross into France; so here likewise they are more diligently urging the preparations for war, soldiers arriving from various quarters, and it is said that by the 20th of next month an army of 30,000 infantry and 12,000 horse will be in order; and the Duke of Savoy thinks of taking the field speedily with such part of the troops as are then in being, and the King will subsequently follow with the rest in the course of May; all the gentlemen of his Majesty's household having been convoked yesterday, when the Duke of Alva, chief maggiordomo, addressed all of them in public, saying they were to make ready to follow the King to the war, as his Majesty chooses to take the field speedily.

Brussels, 28th April 1558.

[*Italian, partly in cipher; the portions in italics deciphered by Signor Luigi Pasini.*]

April 28. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives. (2nd letter).

1219. The SAME to the SAME.

This morning the King, under pretence of going to hunt, went to dine privily with the Bishop of Arras, who had spread a report of going to his bishopric to remain there for 10 *days or a fortnight; but the truth is that he is going to the confines to confer with the Cardinal of Lorraine about the negotiation for peace. It is impossible to know what his orders are, though it may be inferred that they are such as to render some stipulation of peace possible.*

Brussels, 28th April 1558.

[*Italian; the portion in italics deciphered by Signor Luigi Pasini.*]

April 30. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

1220. GIOVANNI MICHIEL, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

M. de Vaudemont has arrived on his way to the conference between the Duchess of Lorraine, the Duke, her son, and the Cardinal of Lorraine, who will send his retinue to Peronne to-morrow, he himself following postwise on Monday, the 2nd proximo, accompanied by the Duke of Lorraine and M. de Vaudemont.

The English have commenced giving news of themselves at sea, a report circulating three days ago that they were in great force off Dieppe; whereupon the young Duke de Bouillon, who has succeeded his father as Governor of Normandy, was immediately despatched, taking several captains with him; but nothing farther having been said subsequently, it seems nothing more is feared beyond some incursion, or the burning and plunder of vessels along that coast and the neighbouring one of Brittany, rather than the occupation of any place of importance, it not being heard that they have any foreign troops to land and attempt any undertaking (*alcuna impresa*). Nothing has been attended to of late, but removal (*asportatione*), orders having been given to remove from all the weakest seaports all the troops and victuals to the places least in danger and most important, and to burn all that cannot be taken away; the troops, both horse and foot, to be ready to march at all hours, according to the

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progress of the fleet, and in any direction where there is the greatest danger of a landing.

Some disturbance also took place lately in Picardy at La Fere, as usual with the Germans in garrison there and the men of the town, about women, several on both sides having been killed; so the Germans, either in anger or from fear of worse, left the town with their colours and a certain number of carabineers (*pistoletti*), and they apparently passed into the territory and service of King Philip; but it was subsequently said they had been recalled and made terms.

Paris, 30th April 1558.

[*Italian.*]

May 6. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

1221. GIOVANNI MICHIEL, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The Cardinal of Lorraine departed postwise on the 4th, with only six or eight of his attendants, having sent on in advance all the rest of his retinue by day journeys, the Duke of Lorraine and the Count de Vaudemont, for their greater convenience, travelling in like manner, and having departed on the 1st, being very well accompanied, the Duke taking with him, including gentlemen and servants, upwards of 200 horse, and they were to meet together yesterday evening to make their entry into Peronne in company. The Cardinal is accompanied by the Secretary de l'Aubespine, besides the Duke d'Aumale, who as minister at war was sent in advance to secure the site of the conference on this side, the Count d'Egmont doing the like on the other, but neither of them will attend the interview. It is understood that the Bishop of Arras will be with the Duchess of Lorraine. Nothing can exceed the anxiety about the result of this conference, but the general opinion is that it will end in discourse.

During these few days of the Cardinal's absence, the King will amuse himself by hunting within 10 or 12 leagues round Paris, remaining for four or six days at a palace of the Queen's, nor will the Court move to Villers-cote-Retz until the Cardinal returns. M. de Guise remains alone with the King, being occupied incessantly in giving the necessary orders for assembling the army. The German troops, both horse and foot, have already commenced making their appearance, and two days ago M. de Nevers was sent to meet them, and provide them with quarters and other necessary conveniences, and at Vitri, in Champagne, he will make their muster and give them the general pay (*la paga generale*). M. d'Estrees, Master General of the Ordnance, has also been desired to send the artillery in that direction, indicating that at this commencement the first attack will be against Thionville, on the borders of Lorraine and Luxemburg, the place having been lately reconnoitred by M. de Sipierre, and if made speedily it is deemed practicable. Since that demonstration made by the English fleet, nothing more is known about it; some maintain that it has returned to the island, others that it has withdrawn to Guernsey, in front of Britanny, awaiting a reinforcement of ships either from Flanders or England, and that the show was made not only to survey the enemy's country, to put

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them to cost, and to alarm them, but also to disunite the French forces, and scatter them for defence in various quarters.

Paris, 6th May 1558.

[*Italian.*]

May 11. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

1222. GIOVANNI MICHIEL, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

M. d'Andelot returned lately from Britanny, bringing word that the affairs of that coast and of the whole province were so well secured and provided for that they apprehended little or nothing from invasion by the English, of whom it continues to be said that they are making no stir whatever.

M. de Ciarlus (*sic*) was lately sent back post haste to Marseilles, that he may go as soon as possible with his galley to meet the Turkish fleet, which, according to a person who came express for this purpose from Constantinople, having departed thence 29 days ago, was to put to sea on the day of his departure.

The Duke of Ferrara has informed King Henry of the military contract (*della condotta*) made by the Duke of Urbino with the King Catholic, reminding his most Christian Majesty that the more he has for some while seemed to estrange himself from the affairs of Italy, having it may be said abandoned them, the more has King Philip on the contrary, by applying himself to them, gaining friends daily as he does, not only secured the States he possesses in such wise that never more, save with very great difficulty, could they be injured by any one, but moreover, by taking away from his most Christian Majesty his friends and their support (*et la protetione*), ne will be able the more easily to expel King Henry from the part now held by him in Italy.

Paris, 11th May 1558.

[*Italian.*]

May 14. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

1223. MICHIEL SURIAN, Venetian Ambassador with King Philip, to the DOGE and SENATE.

Here nothing is talked of but this interview between the Duchess of Lorraine and her son, about which a report circulated through the court lately, that although the Duchess had arrived at Cambrai, the Duke, her son, and the Cardinal of Lorraine on the other side being at Peronne, yet owing to a certain difficulty which had arisen between them they would return home without seeing each other. The difficulty was, that the Duchess wished her son to go to Cambrai; but the French not choosing to venture on letting the Duke go to Cambrai, the interview would have ended in nothing, which report still continues; *though through the Archbishop of Toledo I have heard that last night advice came from the Duchess that the difficulty is adjusted thus, that neither will her son come to Cambrai, nor will she go to Peronne, but they will see each other in an abbacy on the frontier, midway between one place and the other; which resolution is adopted, because the Cardinal of Lorraine gave*

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the Duchess to understand that the Duke would perform every becoming office of respect towards his mother, but that he (the Cardinal) being sent with him by the most Christian King, and it being universally reported that he was to treat the peace, it would not be to his Majesty's honour to have it supposed that he had come into King Philip's territory to ask it. This midway place was therefore proposed, and accepted reciprocally, and the interview will take place tomorrow.

So far as I can comprehend, the common opinion is that some agreement may ensue, because on this side the King and all these Lords are much inclined towards it, and their suspicion that the French feigned a wish for peace, but did not really desire it, has much diminished, owing to the desire evinced for it by the proceedings of the Cardinal of Lorraine. Besides this, there are advices that the Turkish fleet will not put to sea in such force as was believed; so these respects render it credible that the French likewise will be content to make peace.

A nobleman, the Archbishop of Toledo's friend and mine, repeated what I had often heard from others, that to make a sure and lasting agreement, King Philip will consent to place a Duke in Milan, provided the Princes of Italy coalesce with his Majesty to keep him there. He also said that should they come to this resolve, they would prefer one of the sons of the new Emperor to the Duke of Savoy, because with this opportunity King Philip would gain over (guadagnaria) *his Imperial Majesty and his sons, and might hope on certain conditions, at some indefinite period, to succeed to the Empire, to which alone these Spaniards aspire, both for repute as also for the security of these Provinces* (questi Stati), *which, without the Imperial authority, can with difficulty be preserved.*

The Archbishop of Toledo is of opinion that by this peace, the Duke of Savoy will gain nothing but a compensation for his State, and that he cannot do otherwise than cede his rights and claims to these two Princes, who will then make an adjustment between themselves, of which that poor Lord (quel povero Signor) *becoming aware, he willed to unbosom himself to me a few days ago, as I wrote, and to recommend himself to your Serenity, as to that one* (come a quella) *whose authority alone can assist and favour him with these two crowns. He also, perhaps, persuades himself that you would not approve of his being compelled either by France or Spain to renounce his claims to the kingdom of Cyprus,* about which, however, he has never said a word to me, but from words uttered to me by some of his gentlemen I draw this inference, though neither have they ever made express mention to me of that kingdom.† The Duke of Savoy told me lately that the Duke of Sesa already repents of having to go to rule the State of Milan, as he daily discovers yet greater difficulties, and fewer means for remedying them than he believed.*

Brussels, 14th May 1558.

[*Italian, partly in cipher; the portion in italics deciphered by Signor Luigi Pasini.*]

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May 15. Original Despatch. Venetian Archives.

1224. GIOVANNI MICHIEL, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

After his arrival at Peronne on the 6th instant, the Cardinal de Guise delayed his conference with the Duchess of Lorraine until the 11th or 12th, because he had not taken with him a power of attorney or royal mandate enabling him to treat the agreement, having perhaps chosen for his most Christian Majesty's greater repute to let it appear that he went thither for no other end than to accompany the Duke of Lorraine to his mother. The mandate being then despatched hence in haste on the 9th, with very full power, and sealed with the great seal, with all the due solemnities, the parties will therefore have gone to the colloquy without farther delay, especially as together with the mandate there were also sent thither the Bishops of Vienne [Charles de Marillac] and Orleans [Jean de Morvilliers], at the request of the Cardinal de Guise, that he might avail himself of their counsel as persons skilled and experienced in similar negotiations. Although at these first meetings they will not get beyond the general matters, it is nevertheless impossible but that something be discovered about the end of the business and what may be hoped, though from what I hear more and more hourly from these chief personages of the Court, and who are privy to its secrets, they give it freely to be understood that there is little or no hope. The evident signs of this are that the Duke de Guise is hastening to unite the army, so that he may take the field; it being heard that the Switzers are already marching, the greater part of the Germans also having made their appearance; and this morning his Excellency and Marshal Strozzi are to take leave of the King, to which Marshal so much is attributed (*attribuito*) not only by the said Duke de Guise but by his Majesty's chief captains or ministers, and by the King himself, all of them holding him in such great repute as to make it seem that without him they could not even imagine still less execute any important undertaking. All the troops are marching forward in great haste towards Champagne; and these Italian captains and gentlemen who follow the Marshal departed hence today with their arms and horses on their way to the camp, it being still confirmed that the commencement of the enterprises will be the siege of Thionville; but as to when the army will be completely formed, so as to be able to march with cavalry and infantry, artillery, and other necessaries, that is not anticipated before the 8th or 10th of next month.

Paris, 15th May 1558.

[*Italian.*]

May 18. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

1225. GIOVANNI MICHIEL, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The postmaster here not having yet despatched my letters I will add what I have heard much in detail, through a very confidential channel as to what passed between the Duchess of Lorraine and the Cardinal de Guise, to the total dissolution it may be said of their entire negotiation. The Duchess having heard so long back as the 13th of the Cardinal's being at Peronne, she sent thither (from

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Cambrai where she was) a gentleman to congratulate him on his coming, and to let him know that she expected him at Cambrai, where a great triumph (*gran trionfo*) had been prepared in his honour. The gentleman was sent back, accompanied by the Secretary Robertet, with orders to tell her that the Cardinal went to Peronne in compliance with her request, her Excellency having given him to understand that, by conferring together, something might have come to pass that would have been much to the advantage of Christendom, and that he was there for the service of his King, with a commission to betake himself to one of those confines to speak with her, and show her the good will and desire of his Majesty concerning the agreement, proposing three or four places whither he would have gone; the which places at the moment when proposed were apparently all rejected by the Duchess, none of them pleasing her; but she said to Robertet that the Cardinal de Guise, without failing in his obligation or trust to his King, might indeed have gone as far as Cambrai; with which reply Robertet having taking leave, and returned to the Cardinal, the Duchess shortly afterwards sent back another of her attendants, under pretence (*sotto occasione*) of visiting her son, but to have the Cardinal told that she had subsequently determined to go to one of the places proposed, and one of those nearest to Cambrai, some two leagues thence, was accordingly selected and there on the 15th the conference took place.* The commencement was full of love and tenderness, to the very great satisfaction of the Duchess, owing to the visit of her son; but when they came to negotiate, both sides required terms to be proposed to them, and after one and the other had refused this, the Cardinal at length made a proposal, to which the opposite side replied that having nothing to the purpose to tell them, and being without either authority or commission from their King to resolve or deliberate anything, they would go and relate to their King the good will and fair desire of his most Christian Majesty. Thus ended the conference, nor did the Cardinal fail to say aloud, half angrily, "Whoever shall say that my King and all his ministers do not desire the peace, will be much in the wrong, and opposed to the truth."

Yesterday Cardinal de Guise made his appearance post-wise with the determination not again to return thither. Immediately on his return, a report circulated throughout the court that peace and truce were quite at an end; and today the Duke of Lorraine and M. de Vaudemont with all their attendants are expected, and the rest of the Cardinal's household. Nor will I omit to tell your

* This account of the *site* of the conference between the Duchess of Lorraine and the Cardinal de Guise, contradicts the statement made by Père Daniel (vol. ix., p. 868), that the meeting took place at *Peronne*. By a despatch from the Ambassador Surian, dated Brussels, 14th May, 1558, it may be inferred that this first conference, which foreshadowed the peace of Cateau Cambresis, was held at the Abbey of Cercamp, the site being described by Surian, thus: "Ma per via dell' Arcivescovo di Toledo ho inteso, che questa notte è venuto avviso dalla Duchessa, che la difficultà è accordata in questo modo, che nè il figliuolo venirà a Cambrai, *nè lei anderà a Perona, ma si vederanno in una abatia che è alli confini fra mezzo l'uno et l'altro loco.*" This passage was written in cipher, but this does not absolve the French historian of a local blunder.

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Serenity another very notable particular, that in the royal power of attorney sent hence, not only to the Cardinal was power given to treat and stipulate (*accordare*), but four others were named besides himself, viz., the Constable, who, although absent, was supposed to be present, M. d'Aumale, the Bishop of Orleans, and the secretary l'Aubespine.

Today the Duke de Guise and Marshal Strozzi were to depart to-marshal the camp; and it is reported through the Court that King Philip's troops have taken by storm a place called Nele (Nesle ?) near Ham, after having cut to pieces two companies of Frenchmen and routed 400 pistolers (*pistoletti*).

Paris, 18th May 1558.

[*Italian.*]

May 19. **1226.** CARDINAL POLE to KING PHILIP.

MS. St. Mark's Library, Cod. xxiv., Cl. x., p. 196, verso.

Although the hope of his Majesty's coming was a very great comfort to the Queen, and now to be deprived of it cannot but greatly distress her, yet nevertheless perceiving the necessity whereby the King is detained, she through her piety and prudence consoles herself as well as she can, conforming herself to the will of our Lord God by praying and hoping that his Divine Majesty will have the King under his continual protection, and favour him in all his undertakings for the benefit and comfort of these and his other realms, and for the quiet of Christendom, and that her regret for the King's inability to come to England at present may be compensated yet more for her consolation by his being then able to remain there longer for the benefit of the country; which grace Pole prays God to grant them, and always to preserve and prosper his Majesty.

By the letter of the Council, the King will learn the opinion obtained about replying to the Ambassador from Sweden in conformity with what King Philip of his piety and prudence deemed fitting, the moment he heard of the circumstance; and in truth it would have been very unbecoming after Sweden had received from hence the true faith and the Christian religion that now through trade with that province (*hora con tal comercio*) such an opportunity should be afforded for corrupting it in England, most especially in such perilous and contagious times, when the greatest attention is being paid to remedying the remains of the past corruption. Thus may our Lord God vouchsafe to continue favouring this holy work, prospering King Philip and the Queen, through whose authority and piety it was commenced, and brought to the good state in which it now finds itself.

St. James's, Ascension Day, 1558.

[*Italian.*]

May 20. **1227.** GIOVANNI MICHIEL, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

When the Duchess of Lorraine and the Cardinal of Guise took leave of each other, his Lordship left in writing what he had said by word of mouth in the proposal, without any rejoinder whatever,

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from the other side: such is the report in circulation through the Court, though it has perchance been written to Italy that both sides gave each other written articles to be exhibited to their sovereigns. I am however assured (I may say from the fountain head) that this is untrue, though it is thus proclaimed to avoid driving the people here to despair (they most earnestly desiring the agreement), by giving them to understand that the negotiation is still on foot, and not altogether abandoned. As to the proposal made by the Cardinal, I understand that it limits itself to three or four sorts of compensatory conventions, to be offered to the Duke of Savoy, part of which comprise his marriage to the King's sister and part without it. I am moreover told by those who were present that all the other things proposed and treated by the Cardinal de Guise would have been granted and admitted by the contrary party likewise, viz., that nothing should be said about the interest of the English on account of Calais (*cioè, che non si parlasse dell' interesse degli Inglesi per conto di Cales*); nor for the affairs of Italy for the towns of Tuscany; nor for Corsica on account of the Genoese; nor in these parts, to restore and make compensation for the towns occupied by one or other of these sovereigns, such as Marienburg and the other places in Flanders (*si come Mariamburgh et le altre di là*), and St. Quentin and the rest on this side (*con San Quintino, et le altre di quà*); all I say would have been passed without contradiction but for this affair of the Duke of Savoy, concerning which, as both the Duchess and the other persons representing the King Catholic were unauthorised to grant anything, having taken the Cardinal's writing, they said they would report to their King, promising to perform every good office, especially the Duchess, and to intimate subsequently the reply; and this much took place and nothing more.

I have also heard another additional circumstance worth recording, that the Bishop of Arras with those Flemish noblemen having come a long way in advance, being followed by the Duchess, to meet the Cardinal at the appointed place, Marchesi (*sic*), a small open village, with a house in the country, in great part in ruins from the recent wars, but repaired on the sudden, and restored as well as it could be, with a large bower in front of it, according to the present fashion (*come s'usa a questi tempi*), her Excellency made her appearance with so numerous a company of Spanish and Burgundian lords and gentlemen and other honourable personages, all so richly apparelled and so well mounted, as not only to astonish the Cardinal, who, including his own followers and those of the Duke of Lorraine, and Messieurs d'Aumale and de Vaudemont, and the two youths, one the son of the Duke de Guise, and the other of the aforesaid Aumale, had with them upwards of a hundred horse, they also being honourably arrayed, but in the ordinary riding gear; but, besides his astonishment, to cause him suspicion, for the nearer they got to the place of meeting the greater number of cavalry did they see posted at various places on the road, and in good order. But what afterwards not only increased the suspicion but caused him great fear was, that after

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going back in the evening to Peronne to return hitherwards, there took place in the night the capture and conflagration of Nesle, which is so near to Peronne that the flames were clearly visible there, not without opinion (though a false one from what I hear has been discovered since) that the feat had been performed by the cavalry seen on that same day with the Duchess of Lorraine; so the Cardinal was not a little afraid of its pursuing and playing him some bad joke (*burla di mala sorte*) at a certain pass between Peronne and Paris where the safe conduct would have been inefficient; and whereas at first he had intended to come hither conveniently on palfreys (*havea deliberato venirsene a suo comodo sopra Chinee*), he changed his mind, and for less danger chose to ride postwise, having departed on the sudden unknown, it may be said, to any of his attendants, or at least but to very few, and by travelling another road than the ordinary one, he considers it a great feat to have been able to escape in safety.

He made handsome presents to the Duchess of Lorraine and her daughters, to the amount of six or seven thousand ducats worth of bracelets, rings, and similar sorts of female ornaments; her Excellency on the other hand having presented him and the Duke her son with a great quantity of very choice perfumed gloves. The Duke of Lorraine was moreover presented, on behalf of King Philip, with three genets considered to be of rare beauty; and the Duchess chose to see him ride and "manage" in public three very high-couraged war-horses (*tre bravissimi corsieri*) one after the other, which he brought with him, they having been a gift from the most Christian King on his departure.

The Duke, both in this matter and in all his other actions, receives very great and universal praise from everybody, being commended above all for his modesty; and the Cardinal's attendants who were present say that the Duchess remained so surprised and almost out of her wits at the first sight of the Duke, seeing him grown so agile, and of so graceful and agreeable a presence, that from excessive tenderness she for a good while was unable to speak, and indeed almost fainted; in like manner she remained infinitely satisfied with the sage words he addressed to her at that first meeting, giving her account of his condition, and of the mode in which he was treated and entertained by the most Christian King and all the other personages of the realm. I also hear on the best authority that before he was taken to his mother the Cardinal de Guise set him at liberty (*fu messo dal Cardinale in libertà*) either to depart with her, if such was his wish, or to return with him, as having arrived at an age to dispose of himself, he might do as he pleased, as whatever his determination it would have the approval of the King and his ministers. The Duke replied that he should not know how to live in any other place than where he had resided hitherto. The aforesaid bystanders never weary of proclaiming the courtesies and very great honours paid by the Duchess to the Cardinal, both in meeting and receiving him when he dismounted, with so much sounding of trumpets, drums, artillery, and other instruments, and also in the morning at the dinner, which was most

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sumptuous, accompanied by as much music and as many entertainments (*trattenimenti*) as could possibly be desired in the most delicious locality. The same courtesies and honours are said to have been paid (principally by the Spaniards) to all the others who were with the Cardinal and Lords; and the Count d'Egmont, leaving the Duchess and her daughters and son and the Cardinal, compelled M. d'Aumale, with his son and nephew, and M. de Vaudemont, to dine with him, they all eating together at one table.

On this other side no words can tell the infinite joy and the extreme caresses and greetings lavished on the Duke that evening when he returned postwise by his most Christian Majesty, who again and again threw his arms round his neck and kissed him repeatedly; the Queen and the King-Dauphin doing the like, and in short the whole Court; this his short absence having clearly proved the wish for him which he had left behind, and the great love borne him by everybody.

Paris, 20th May 1558.

[*Italian.*]

May 21. MS. *penes me.* Autograph of Francesco Contarini, who died Doge of Venice, A.D. 1624.

1228. Doge Lorenzo Priuli to Henry II., King of France.

Congratulations on the espousals of the King-Dauphin, and the Queen of Scotland.

[*Italian.*]

May 21. Ibid.

1229. The same to the Most Serene Queen of France, Catherine de'Medici.

Similar congratulations.

[*Italian.*]

May 21. Ibid.

1230. The same to the King-Dauphin.

Similar congratulations.

[*Italian.*]

May 21. Ibid.

1231. The same to the Most Serene Queen-Dauphin.

Similar congratulations.

[*Italian.*]

May 21. Ibid.

1232. The same to the Cardinal of Lorraine.

Similar congratulations.

[*Italian.*]

May 21. Ibid.

1233. The same to the Duke de Guise.

Similar congratulations.

[*Italian.*]

May 22. Deliberazioni Senato, File No. 31, Venetian Archives.

1234. Motion made in the Senate, for a letter to Giovanni Michiel, Venetian Ambassador in France, ordering him to present the foregoing letters.

Ayes, 167; Noes, 4; Neutrals, 7.

[*Italian.*]

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May 22.
Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

1235. MICHIEL SURIAN, Venetian Ambassador with King Philip, to the DOGE and SENATE.

When I was with the King yesterday evening he commenced speaking about the result of the interview between the Duchess of Lorraine and her son, his Majesty having previously narrated to me in detail the difficulties which arose before the conference; both about site as also concerning the number of persons who were to attend it on one side and the other, which were subsequently adjusted, as written by me. He told me that during the colloquy they discussed the peace, and the substance of the negotiation was, that the French made two proposals: the one is, that they would be content to restore Savoy and Piedmont to the Duke, but they choose King Philip to cede the State of Milan to his most Christian Majesty, and some persons who accompanied the Duchess tell me that they did not say they would restore Piedmont absolutely, but reserving three fortresses for themselves, though of this reserve the King made no mention to me. The second proposal is, that should the first not give satisfaction, the King will be content to restore Savoy alone to the Duke, and keep Piedmont for himself, on condition that the Duke receive compensation from King Philip, who thereupon said to me, "They choose me to recompense him as if I had taken it" (vogliono che io lo recompensi, come se lo havessi tolto io). *In each of these proposals it is also understood that St. Quentin, Han, and Catelet are to be restored to the French, those places having been taken last year, and that nothing is to be said about Calais.*

The King told me that this is the substance of the two proposals made by the French, and as they seemed very exorbitant the Bishop of Arras therefore replied that not having any commission about this affair he could not give them any reply, but would report the whole to his Majesty; and the Cardinal of Lorraine well nigh exasperated by this reply (quasi sdegnato di questa risposta) *rejoined that if King Philip wished for peace in either of those ways he should have it, but not otherwise. From what I can understand those on this side anticipated an opportunity for resuming the conference, but the Cardinal of Lorraine departed next morning on his way back to the Court, they also doing the like. The King, when narrating the circumstance to me, evinced some resentment at the Cardinal's so sudden departure; but lest I should think that this was contrary to the dignity of his Majesty or of the Duchess, he added that the Cardinal departed so speedily because the Duchess had told him that she had intended to depart on the morrow, though she did not do so until the next day.*

Discussing this negotiation of the French, the King said he does not believe that they wish for peace, but that what they do is for the purpose of demonstrating to the people that their King does not wage the war willingly, but is forced into it for the defence of his States, it being thought that his subjects will thus pay the taxes imposed on them more easily. His Majesty also told me another thing, that when examining the difficulties raised by the French about the site and the Duchess' retinue (compagnia) *they found that they had intended to get her into their hands* (di haver Lei nelle mani) *or at least her daughters*

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as they did by her son, and that the plot would have succeeded had the conference taken place on the French confines, which is clearly proved by their not having chosen to come to Cambrai as they had promised; that they never allowed the mother and son to talk alone together; and that although the Cardinal wrote to the Duchess inviting her to the conference under pretext of treating with her matters relating to her son and to her daughters, and to their state, he nevertheless did not say so much as one word on that subject.

This conversation held with me by the King was made with an amiability well-nigh extraordinary (con una amorevolezza quasi estraordinaria), *and divers things which he had forgotten to tell me he repeated several times, showing that he would keep nothing secret from we, alluding also to the confidence placed by him in your Serenity with greater warmth than usual* (con un affetto maggiore del consueto).

Brussels, 22nd May 1558.

[*Italian, in cipher throughout; deciphered by Signor Luigi Pasini.*]

May 22. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.*

1235. GIOVANNI MICHIEL, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

On Ascension Day, the 19th, the Duke de Guise departed, being followed by Marshal Strozzi, Don Alfonso da Este, and all those others who cannot without reproach quit the service of his most Christian Majesty; and thus did they go to Chalons, in Champagne, to hasten with all diligence the union of the army, which it is said will shortly be the greatest and most potent one ever mustered by this or any other king.

The English fleet has again appeared in front of Dieppe, and continues cruising off the coast of Normandy, but has not yet attempted any landing or done any notable damage. As yet all the principal towns and harbours are understood to be well provided and fortified, very great assiduity having been and still continuing to be used in this matter; and the day after tomorrow the King of Navarre will depart, that his presence may give entire confidence to the affairs of Guienne likewise.

In this city during the present week a thing occurred which in like manner as it was a grievous scandal, and greatly troubled those who witnessed it, so did it display extreme audacity on the part of its doers.

In the meadows beyond the Faubourg St. Germain, which belong to the students, whither at this season persons resort after supper for air and exercise, there assembled publicly a concourse of some three to four thousand individuals (though others estimate the amount at from six to seven thousand) of every grade and condition, men and women, old and young, boys and girls, noblemen, plebeians, and artificers, who marched processionally in dense battalions,

* The most interesting portions of this despatch were translated and published by Sir Thomas Hardy in his "Report to the Right Honourable the Master of the Rolls upon the Documents in the Archives and Public Libraries of Venice." (Pages 10, 11; London, 1866.)

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singing aloud, in the French tongue, a sort of psalmody, the precise counterpart of that which is chanted in the churches of Geneva and other Lutheran conventicles, adding at the close of each psalm an invective or ballad against the Pope. For their defence in case of need against the populace and the police (*dalla giustitia*), not only had they a considerable force in the distance armed with pistols and other concealed weapons, but likewise several companies of cavalry, the greater part noblemen and adherents of great personages, in number 15 or 20 to each company, who covered the van, flank, and rear of the psalmodists, escorting them on their march through the meadows. When it was dark they returned into the city, proceeding in this array, still singing, the whole length of the Rue St. Jacques. On the first night not many persons witnessed this display, as it had been little divulged, but for the second performance there was an immense crowd of spectators, including even persons of high rank; and although, on the third day, to prevent this tumult, the authorities issued a proclamation prohibiting its repetition, the psalmodists nevertheless went forth at the usual hour, continuing their chants and ceremony, and in much greater number. Express orders having been given to close the city gates at sunset, and to carry away the keys, the whole company was compelled to remain outside, and to pass the whole night in the houses of that suburb or strolling through the meadows, re-entering Paris on the following morning, in number upwards of 10,000; nor did this deter them from going forth every successive evening, with the same and yet stronger escorts, but merely singing the psalms, and omitting the invective against the Pope. An account of this having been sent to the Court, the Cardinal of Sens, the Spiritual Primate of France, was ordered back hither immediately to investigate the matter, and to proceed as he shall think fit to stop so great a scandal, but he will have much to do, the mischief having spread so far as it has done, and having taken such deep root in the aristocracy (*nei grandi*).

Paris, 22nd May 1558.

P.S.—Having written thus far, I hear from several quarters that the Admiral's brother, M. d'Andelot [François de Coligny], General of the Infantry, has been arrested at the Court on a charge of having participated in the affair of the Lutherans, and I am told that he did not deny it, but freely confessed to being of that opinion, with which his brother, the Cardinal Odet de Châtillon is also said to be tainted (*macchiato*); and should they choose to go investigating matters farther I understand that many others of much higher grade will be discovered. Here in Paris the Cardinal de Sens has had several individuals arrested, but all plebeians.

Paris, 22nd May 1558.

[*Italian.*]

May 23. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

1236. MICHAEL SURIAN, Venetian Ambassador with King Philip, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The Admiral of the Fleet of England [William Lord Howard of Effingham] arrived here yesterday evening; and this morning

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an advice came of the arrival of some ships that were expected from Spain *bringing* 200,000 *crowns, although many persons say* 400,000, *which rejoices the whole Court; and a person of authority told me to-day that with this money they will be able to perform a fine feat, viz., to draw off* (sviar) 3,000 *Blacksmith cavalry* (ferraroli) *with whom the French are treating, and they would have already secured them had the money been ready.*

Brussels, 23rd May 1558.

[*Italian, partly in cipher; the portion in italics deciphered by Signor Luigi Pasini.*]

May 29. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

1237. MICHIEL SURIAN, Venetian Ambassador with King Philip, to the DOGE and SENATE.

After my despatch of the 23rd, the King went unexpectedly to Antwerp, and the day before his departure the Duke of Alva sent to give me notice of it, saying at the same time that he would return in six days; but as the Court was of opinion that his Majesty would cross over to England, although it was incredible that in these times he should leave these Provinces for that kingdom, I therefore sent my secretary to his Excellency to say that I wished to follow his Majesty, and that I would go to Antwerp, and whithersoever he pleased. The Duke replied that the King would certainly return in five or six days, and that his Majesty's order was that I should not move, and that this would be agreeable to him; so to conform myself to his will I have not stirred.

From what I can comprehend, it was determined that I should not depart hence, because owing to this report of his Majesty's going to England, and his abandonment of Brussels, everybody would have taken flight had they seen the ambassadors depart, and above all your Serenity's, who is more remarked than the others. I therefore did well to remain, having thus obeyed his Majesty, and perhaps prevented some great confusion which would have taken place, for immediately on the King's departure a report circulated that the French forces were at Maastricht, and that his Majesty had chosen to leave Brussels, so as not to let himself be found here unprovided and without troops; and the Ambassadors from Florence and from Genoa were about to depart, but on seeing that I did not move the Florentine remained, as also the one from Poland, and willed to consult with me, and to do as I did; and as the Ambassadors remained the other persons of the Court who were also on the move acted more reservedly.

Then yesterday I had advice from Antwerp that the King will not cross over to England, and that he will return hither in a few days.

The cause of his Majesty's going to Antwerp, as written by me on the 21st, was to obtain money, and he went so suddenly and sooner than was expected in consequence of the arrival of the ships from Spain with the money, *the whole of which belongs to the merchants, part being their own rightfully* (parte proprii et di ragione loro), *and part having been assigned them by the King for*

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their credits. His Majesty willed to get possession of it (ha voluto sua Maestà haverli nelle mani lei), *and that the merchants might agree to this without noise he chose to go in person, hoping to gain their consent more easily than by means of his ministers, who have not so much authority nor perhaps equal address.* His Majesty also thinks of laying a new tax on that city, as imposed heretofore, for the purpose of rendering it a fortress, which being now almost completed it was repealed; and should the King be able to renew it, he would forthwith obtain from 150 to 200 thousand crowns, with which sum, and further pecuniary supply to be derived from other sources, he will provide for the defence of these Provinces, *for which but little provision has been made hitherto; nor has his Majesty any other troops levied except those on the frontiers; whereas the French are in great force at the confines of Luxemburg, their apparent design being on Thionville, which, although a very strong place, and well garrisoned, yet, nevertheless, unless it be succoured by a strong body of troops in the field, neither the garrison nor others* (nè altri) *could defend it against such a force. These fortresses do not resemble your Serenity's, which, when they have troops within, are impregnable; but the fortresses here are so called from a little good position* (un poco di sito), *or a lake, or hill, or marsh in their vicinity, and not from their structure or skilled contrivance* (et non per fabrica nè per artificio); *and should any of them be well designed, not one however is completed, and for the most part they are unskilfully planned* (mal intese). *In these parts, Antwerp alone has the form of a fortress, and is already completed, but with many defects, though not being a frontier, it can serve for nothing on these occasions; so for the defence of these confines against the French there is need of more than a middling army-corps, and a much greater one would be required were King Philip to assume the offensive* (volendo offenderli), *most especially now that they are heard to be in such force.*

Since a long while it is said that King Philip will have six regiments of Germans and 4,000 *Blacksmith cavalry* (Ferraroli), *who with these Spaniards and Walloons in the garrisons would form a reasonable army* (fariano un giusto essercito), *as written by me heretofore, but I do not yet see the thing in such a state as to vouch for its certainty; so although it is said universally that the Duke of Savoy will soon take the field and that the King will follow him shortly afterwards, yet the force now under arms not being sufficient, the delay will be greater than is generally supposed.*

Brussels, 29th May 1558.

[*Italian, partly in cipher; the portions in italics deciphered by Signor Luigi Pasini.*]

May 29. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

1238. GIOVANNI MICHIEL, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

Although after the return of the Cardinal de Guise I sent to the Court [at Monceaux, near Meaux,] to have lodging, and to endeavour to obtain audience, and in accordance with your Serenity's letters of

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the 24th ult. to thank his Majesty for the office he performed with me about the Turkish fleet, and also to hear something from him and the Cardinal about passing events; his Lordship sent me word nevertheless, that whilst the King for his convenience continues to reside in those small places there is no occasion for me to move hence, unless I have something to negotiate of more than ordinary importance; and that on being settled, and when the whole Court shall be united, he will then let me and the other Ambassadors here know what we shall have to do. I am therefore compelled to transact all business by means of letters, and through one of my attendants, including the affair of the entire release of the ship "Tamisera," which, together with all the other vessels of the kingdom, had been seized by his Majesty's order on account of the English fleet.

Paris, 29th May 1558.

[*Italian.*]

May 29. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives. (2nd letter.)

1239. GIOVANNI MICHIEL, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

On the 22nd, as written by me, the Duke de Guise left Paris for Chalons, where cavalry and infantry arrive daily for the main body of the army; and two days ago he informed the King that a good part of the forces which had been in the neighbourhood of Metz, and on the confines of Lorraine, were under Thionville, and about to commence the trenches round it, and to convey thither the artillery and other necessaries to attempt the siege; and in order that the affairs of the territory of Lorraine in that neighbourhood may proceed more quietly and without disturbance on the part of the Duke of Lorraine's subjects, who might injure the expeditions which will be made in that direction, I am informed by a person in the King's confidence that the King has determined that in a few days the Duke of Lorraine is to go and reside in Lorraine in person, and thus avoid the necessity for taking the Duke with him to the camp in the company of the King-Dauphin, who, should his most Christian Majesty not join the army personally, which he has not yet decided to do, says he desires to go thither at any rate.

The Duke de Guise has sent to the Court letters and other advices of the King-Catholic, intercepted by certain companies of German cavalry on their march to the camp, who having heard of the passage of Don Juan Manrique, placed themselves in ambush, and made so violent an attack on his rear (*alla coda*) that, although he saved himself (having with much difficulty and at great personal risk made his escape), they captured no fewer than six or seven of his attendants, and almost all his valises; and from the said letters it seems that they have derived very acceptable information, both by rendering themselves certain that King Philip cannot be armed until even later than they knew already, and also by ascertaining that the Duchess of Lorraine did not seek the interview for any other cause than that of appearance and dissimulation, thus attempting to stay the preparations for the war by negotiating an agreement.

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The Grand Prior of France [Réné de Lorraine, Marquis d'Elbœuf], General of the Fleet, came postwise to the Court from Marseilles, on hearing that the Turkish fleet had put to sea, and two days afterwards (viz., on the 25th) he went back with the same speed, having a money order for a certain sum to repair the galleys, which I understand greatly require it; and when he sent one of his secretaries hither to obtain payment he failed to obtain it, notwithstanding his most assiduous solicitations. The said Prior is appointed (*destinato*) to go and meet and join the Turkish fleet, and orders and instructions have been given him about the expeditions they are to undertake.

M. de Brissac has also sent back his secretary to announce that during his stay of more than 40 days at Lyons he had been unable to make any sort of bargain with the merchants there about the assignments given him on his departure, and still less could he avail himself of the four hundred thousand francs ready money which he had been told would be waiting for him on his arrival there, demanding fresh provisions and aids, without which he neither could nor would depart thence.

The commotion that took place here on account of the religion was in great part quieted by the presence of the Cardinal de Sens, through the strict orders and very severe proclamations issued in the King's name, not only to avert and prevent similar meetings, but to discover those who attended the one in question, offering also a certain reward to such as would inform against them, and subjecting to the same penalty persons who having knowledge of the delinquents do not denounce them; but the execution has limited itself to the capture of some hundred individuals, but all plebeians, and of no greater account than some of the tutors of these scholastic colleges (*e non di maggior conto che di qualche pedagoghi di questi collegi di scolari*); the authorities proceeding with great consideration, both on account of the nature of the times, as also by reason of the quality and quantity of the great personages who openly favour similar opinions, with great risk of the beginning of a civil war. It is asserted that also in the city of Chartres a strange uproar took place lately between the townspeople and the men-at-arms of the company in the service of the King-Dauphin, about removing the images from the churches, some persons being killed on both sides. The arrest of M. d'Andelot, although it has intimidated many persons owing to his authority and intimacy with the King, has nevertheless irritated many more, who are of opinion that bearing in mind the circumstances and need of the war, doing his Majesty such good service as he does, he should have been treated with greater respect. He is kept in the town of Meaux, two leagues from the Court,* in the custody of fifteen archers of the King's guard, and he walks about the church, every convenience being afforded him, his wife also being allowed to go thither. He is said to be more obstinate than ever, nor does any sort of office take effect upon him; neither exhortation, which the

* The Court was at Monceaux. (*See* Père Daniel, vol. 9.)

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King sent gentlemen, his friends, to use with him; nor certain theologians of the Sorbonne, to whom he will not give ear, whilst of the others he makes a jest; and I understand that before his arrest, his discourse with the King, by persisting in his opinions, so enraged his Majesty that he well nigh rushed at him with his dagger.

The Marshal de St. André [Jacques d'Albon] is expected from Flanders daily, coming on parole, besides the security given by him, he being allowed two months' time to cure himself of a certain tumour from which he suffers; and the report of the Constable's return is also again renewed.

Paris, 29th May 1558.

[*Italian.*]

June 11. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

1240. GIOVANNI MICHIEL, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

On the 4th instant the Duke de Guise arrived under Thionville, and when in the act of encamping many cannon shots were fired at him, but they only killed three or four of his men. He has with him all the French bands, viz., 22 ensigns of Picardy, and five of Germans of the Rifambergo (*sic*) regiments. M. de Giames is towards Metz on the other side of the river, with the Frenchmen of Champagne, and of that territory, and six or seven hundred horse, and this to secure the road for the victuals which come from that quarter. In a large village towards Luxemburg there is M. de Nevers with all the cavalry and 25 ensigns of Germans, to prevent two ensigns of Spaniards, who had made their appearance for that purpose, from entering Thionville, in which he succeeded. Between M. de Nevers and de Giames there is the Duke de Nemours with the light cavalry; and on the morrow they were expecting a thousand Pistolers or Blacksmiths from Germany. On the 5th the trenches were finished; on the 6th they were to commence battering the defensive works; and yesterday the Cardinal of Lorraine told me that the battery consisted of 38 ordinary guns, two double ones (*et doi doppi*), and other pieces to the amount of 46 or 48, and that they had battered for two consecutive days, and were still continuing with good hope of taking it by storm, as was told the King yesterday evening by the brother of Secretary Robertet who was sent express for this purpose by the Duke de Guise; as the platforms were already razed, one at each angle of the curtain, a tower being battered, and part of one of the chief palaces of the town, which being built in the loftiest situation, the guns placed on its roof (*in cima*) did great damage to the army, which they commanded in every direction. Within the town there are 11 ensigns of soldiers, only one of which is of Spaniards, the rest being of Walloons, their entire number being rather more than 2,000 men, exceeding by one-half what is required, the place being small.

In this other quarter hitherwards M. de Termes has already taken the field with 4,000 men of the territory, and 1,000 veteran infantry, including Gascons and Germans who were in the neighbouring garrisons, and from three to four hundred horse, to get rid of

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certain small fortresses raised on the confines of the Calais pale, and if possible, to advance beyond towards Gravelines, not anticipating great resistance; and, failing to accomplish anything else, he will do great service by keeping King Philip's forces disunited and diverted as much as he can.

The King of Navarre likewise is intent on his despatch, and has made a great store of arms and other necessaries for the expedition against Navarre which he has resolved to attempt, as written by me heretofore, and for the most part at his own expense, having every day of late attended to pecuniary supply, and he has raised some loans with merchants on his revenues for a reasonable sum; so it may be said that in no quarter of this kingdom, nor on any of its frontiers, can the enemy harass them offensively or defensively.

Concerning the said King and Queen of Navarre, much has been said about them lately, as favourers of these new opinions; and I understand that they having been seen on the days of those great congregations in the meadows of St. Germain, report of this was made to his most Christian Majesty, who having asked him as it were by way of a joke if it was true, he said yes, that he went thither like the rest as a looker on (*che vi era stato per vedere come gli altri*); and he then took to blustering (*di poi si voltò al bravare*), saying that if any one had the audacity to say that he did anything against his Majesty's service, or contrary to his own honour and dignity as Prince and King, he would make him know his error; and thus did he rid himself of any opportunity for being ever again spoken to on the subject; but nevertheless when he was lately in Paris, one of the chief ministers of this sect (*uno dei principali ministri di quelli di questa seta*) having been arrested, the King of Navarre sent word to the Lieutenant of criminal police (*al Luogotenente del criminale*) not to interfere with the minister, as he was the King's subject (*essendo huomo suo*), and that he was to send him to the King. The Lieutenant apologized for inability to do so without a license and express commission from the most Christian King, owing to the very stringent order given him about persons of that sort; whereupon the King of Navarre did not scruple to go in person to the Lieutenant and make him give up his prisoner, saying that he would always surrender him whenever required. When this was known by the Parliament of Paris, they issued a command to the said Lieutenant, that if within a certain number of days the minister were not re-imprisoned they would proceed against him, the Lieutenant, both by depriving him of his office and by personal punishment; so in great perplexity from the risk he runs of some bad trick (*qualche scherzo di mala sorte*) being played, he applied to the King of Navarre to get back the prisoner, and the King seems to have laughed at it, telling him not to mind, as when he (Navarre) went to the Court, he would easily set him at liberty.

The Court removes to Villers-Cotterets tomorrow, to be nearer the frontier for the receipt of news from every quarter. His Majesty's arms and tents are being got ready expeditiously, as he says clearly that he shall at any rate join the camp in person, but

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will first wait to see what the Duke de Guise may do, and what resolve King Philip shall form.

Paris, 11th June 1558.

[*Italian.*]

June 12. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives. File I., Spagna.

1241. MICHIEL SURIAN, Venetian Ambassador with King Philip, to the DOGE and CHIEFS of the TEN.

The Duke of Alva told me in secret that the King has advices that Cardinal Caraffa purposes seizing Ancona and keeping it for himself, renouncing the hat if unable to succeed to the Popedom. The Duke is of opinion that this will totally ruin the Church, which he thinks cannot be preserved save through the assistance of some great Prince, nor did he say what Prince; adding that whenever this takes place the whole State of the Church will be sacrificed as prey (sarà dato in preda).

Brussels, 12th June 1558.

[*Italian, in cipher; deciphered by Signor Luigi Pasini.*]

June 22. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

1242. GIOVANNI MICHIEL, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

After reconnoitring the battery in Thionville, M. de Guise not only advanced his trenches to the foot of the ramparts and to the gate of the town at great risk, there having in the meanwhile taken place many great skirmishes (*grosse scaramuccie*), in which several of the besiegers were killed and wounded, especially some of the few Italians now in the camp, but he also continued working with the pickaxe at the inner platform to throw down as much as he could of it, so that according to the last advices he purposed making the assault in three or four days, although the sudden and unexpected death of Marshal Strozzi will have cooled the execution of this and of all his other designs, M. de Guise having thus lost one of his principal agents (*membri*) and instruments for counsel and assistance, as to Strozzi's infinite diligence and incessant exertions are attributed the whole fruit of this expedition, for he himself never rested, and allowed but little repose to the others. As heard this evening the poor nobleman died on the 20th of a musket-shot in the breast, which struck him on the sudden, he having scarcely raised himself from the waist upwards above the trenches (*a futica alzato fino alla cintura fuora delle trincee*) to see and consider whether a nearer approach could be made to the ramparts within, to facilitate the assault; being unfortunately without his breast-plate, which he had near him, and was in the act of putting it on; and he was hit so hard that he had only time to say the few following words to M. de Guise, who ran to him immediately, "Monseigneur, I am a dead man; I pray you to be mindful of me, as I die for your service," and he expired immediately; so much to the regret of this whole Court, especially of the King, but above all of the Queen, whose grief I cannot sufficiently express, that to mitigate the sorrow and repair the loss incurred everybody admits that nothing less than the capture of Thionville will suffice. Fresh troops and provisions arrive daily at the camp, his most Christian Majesty having issued a proclamation

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to all the towns of the kingdom, earnestly praying and inviting all the gentry of the kingdom to betake themselves thither in person with the greatest assistance they can muster, not from the obligation of the rear bands, which has been cancelled entirely for money, and because of the little service received from that militia, but from the will and free election of each individual, so as not to fail on such an occasion in defending the realm and themselves individually.

I also understand that in Picardy, where M. d'Aumale is the King's lieutenant, they daily receive reinforcements of cavalry and infantry, and some companies of German Pistolers (*Pistolleri*) have arrived, an indication that they will soon also take the field there, whither, should the Thionville expedition not succeed, it seems that the whole army will march; his Majesty likewise continuing to say that he shall join it, and merely awaits the results of the siege, which, in one way or the other, cannot be long delayed; and the advices from the camp continue their accounts of the daring and spirit of the besieged, who have so much artillery and ammunition that in 10 or 12 days they discharged, not without little fruit (*non senza poco frutto*), upwards of 4,000 heavy cannon balls; and it seems that the Governor of Hainault (said to be Count Horn)* has entered the town, having passed through the camp secretly with a companion, both of them wearing the white crosses.

The Baron de Cler set sail lately from Dieppe, and steering towards Flanders with several vessels he captured some English ships loaded with wools and woollens to a great amount, exceeding three hundred thousand francs, as told me by the Cardinal of Lorraine. Amongst these vessels were some cutters or smacks (*scute*), and on board of them were found letters written from England to the King of Spain about a great rebellion and tumult (*gran sollevatione et tumulto*) which had happened in Ireland, part of the Queen's ministers having been slain, and part expelled. It seems that the Earl of Kildare [Gerald Fitzgerald], one of the chief Lords of that part of Ireland held by the English, has been proclaimed and published (*gridato et pubblicato*) King; others adding that he has also been crowned. By descent he is a Florentine of the Gherardini family, a youth of great promise and with many followers, and for the most part of his life he was educated in Italy.

Ferté Milon, 22nd June 1558.

[*Italian.*]

June 24. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

1243. MICHIEL SURIAN, Venetian Ambassador with King Philip, to the DOGE and SENATE.

Yesterday I wrote by a King's courier despatched to Italy,† *and then to day his Majesty received advice of the loss of Thionville, which took place towards the evening of the day before yesterday, because the greater part of the defenders being killed in the assault given them on that day, the survivors, being for the most part wounded,*

* The Flemish commander in Thionville was Jean de Quarible, a gentleman of Brabant. (*See* Père Daniel, vol. 9, p. 867.)

† Letter not found.

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and seeing that they could no longer resist, agreed to surrender the town on condition of their lives being spared (salve le loro persone), *and some* 400 *or a few more, the remains of so large a garrison, went out of the place; the French having thus gained a very important site, and very great repute, without any other loss than the death of a few soldiers, including, it is said, Pietro Strozzi, which will be the best news that could be heard by the Duke of Florence, as clearly demonstrated by his Ambassador here, who seems beside himself with joy.*

Owing to this advice, the Duke of Savoy has returned to Brussels, to consult about what is to be done, especially as the march of the French towards Calais and Boulogne causes great fear for Gravelines.

Brussels, 24th June 1558.

[*Italian, partly in cipher; the portion in italics deciphered by Signor Luigi Pasini.*]

June 25. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

1244. GIOVANNI MICHIEL, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

I yesterday announced the surrender of Thionville on the 23rd, and to increase the general joy intelligence has also been received that M. de l'Ange, the Governor of Dieppe, having put to sea with several armed ships, took an island near Jersey and Guernesy, opposite to the confines of Normandy and Britanny.*

Ferté Milon, 25th June 1558.

[*Italian.*]

June 26. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

1245. MICHIEL SURIAN, Venetian Ambassador with King Philip, to the DOGE and SENATE.

I have nothing to add about the loss of Thionville, except that the French are very diligently repairing it, surrounding the place with a great number of pioneers to put it as speedily as possible into such a condition that they may never again fear its being stormed. They have thus opened the road for farther advance either in the Luxemburg territory or in that of Liege, or Treves, at their option, as neither on one side nor on the other have they any impediment from fortresses, though the town of Luxemburg might offer some slight obstacle, not so much from the strength of its position nor from engineering skill (nè per artificio) *as from the amount of its garrison, numbering* 4,000 *efficient troops, amongst which it is indeed true that there are some companies quartered in the town since a long while, whom it would be well to replace by men of more experience, as has been recommended to the King, but no decision has been formed about this hitherto, both because affairs usually proceed slowly, and most especially with so strange and troublesome a combination of circumstances as this present one, it being also attributable to the necessity for other provisions requiring immediate despatch, caused by the suspicion about Gravelines, which*

* *Alderney?* See letter dated 25th July, where this island is called *Origni*, which may mean *Alderney*, but cannot signify *Sarke*, as in Naval History, vol. 2, p. 276.

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is in the greatest danger should the French attack it, as feared; for although the Spaniards have commenced fortifying it in a form which if completed would render it quite safe, yet, being unfinished, Gravelines is now weaker than it was before they commenced the repairs, for they have filled up the ditches, and cleft the walls in some places, levelling the old platforms, which were unsuited to this new design; having also commenced the bulwarks, though they are still so low, that they would serve the enemy for a ladder, in like manner as they would use the cleft in the wall for a gate.

In the consultations held about the measures to be taken the opinions therefore were contradictory, the diversity consisting in this, that some of the councillors wished to increase the number of troops in Gravelines, thus remedying the defects of the fortress by its multitudinous garrison; whilst others recommend the sending of reinforcements, not that they should think of defending the place by remaining within it, but to form a larger body capable of taking the field, and fortifying itself by trenches on the front and flanks, keeping the town in their rear, which would be the safest manœuvre, but there are two objections to it, the one, that the soil around is all sand so that trenches cannot be made conveniently, nor sufficient shelter (riparo) *against artillery, the other being that there is not time enough for this provision.*

King Philip, therefore, after much consultation, determined that Don Luis de Caravajal, who is on board the fleet in Zealand with those Spaniards, some 700 *strong, should go and join that Colonel of the Germans who has the custody of Gravelines, nor have they yet settled which of the two modes is better for the defence of the place, either to remain within or to go outside; but until farther orders be sent it is understood they are to stay inside the fortress. When this was determined, the Duke of Savoy mounted postwise, and returned towards Namur, and has already countermanded the troops on their march towards Luxemburg, desiring them to turn to the right, and to take the Valenciennes road to make the muster in that vicinity. The object of his undertaking, and his means for effecting it, are alike unknown, as necessary to keep the enemy in the dark, but so far as can be seen by his proceedings he will go into some quarter where he thinks a diversion may be most easily made, which is perhaps the safest counsel, as he has not yet sufficient troops to equal those of the French either in number or force, neither when they took Thionville, nor when they now think of attacking Gravelines; and had this been done betimes they might perhaps have given more assistance to Thionville than they did on that occasion. In the meanwhile they will reinforce the army, troops being expected from Germany and eleswhere, and according to report the Duke of Brunswick has arrived with his cavalry at Bois-le-Duc* (Bolduck), *and will be able shortly to join the rest of the troops. I also hear through several channels that ere now King Philip might have mustered a large body of troops, and wished to do so, as he knew that in this present year the advantage would rest with him who was first in the field, and he had enough money to suffice at least for mustering the troops, but the thing was*

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so long delayed, because Erasso, who has the administration of the money, chose to attempt making a new form of contract with the Germans, and contrary to their custom, whereby his Majesty would have saved from thirty to forty thousand crowns, but they seeing this new subtlety grew angry, and there was a difficulty in engaging them on the old terms; so throughout the whole Court Erasso is blamed publicly because this his untimely attempt has been the cause of the losses suffered from the French, and of what they may inflict in the course of this campaign.

Such is the state of affairs at this Court, and the King's departure seems delayed by this casualty (accidente) *of Thionville, and because they are expecting the Duke of Parma; but nevertheless all those who have to follow* his Majesty are in readiness since many days, and each individual has his baggage waggons appointed him, and all things necessary prepared for mounting on horseback at the trumpet's sound, and yesterday morning public proclamations were made all over the city for the sutlers to follow the army as usual. I am thus in readiness to go with his Majesty anywhere, and the Almighty grants me this grace, that I feel myself stronger now and better disposed than I have been during all the past months, so I hope to be able to bear the fatigue and inconvenience, which I was determined not to shun, even had I found myself somewhat unwell.

For the last two days, at the time of the greatest heat, when the sun is most scorching, a burning vapour (*un vapor acceso*), like a star, is visible in the air, which although it proceeds from the nature of the weather (*dalla qualità dei tempi*) is nevertheless universally considered by the people a prodigy, *and for the most part it is interpreted sinisterly for King Philip, and favourably for the French. This, although a superstition, makes great impression on the ignorant and vulgar* (nei populi et nella gente ignorante).

Brussels, 26th June 1558.

[*Italian, partly in cipher; the portions in italics deciphered by Signor Luigi Pasini.*]

July 2. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

1246. MICHIEL SURIAN, Venetian Ambassador with King Philip, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The roads are more interrupted than ever, for besides the soldiers from Saxony who are passing into France, the other French troops likewise who were at the siege (l'impresa) *of Thionville ravage the territory of Liege, almost as far as Maestricht, doing much damage everywhere, so it has been necessary to remove some posts from their usual stations, and for their security to place them at a greater distance from these incursions, and most especially those that were near Luxemburg, whither the French say they mean to go with the army; though today it is heard that they intend to take Maestricht, a pass which would be of very great importance, as besides preventing any military assistance from Germany they would thus blockade all those Provinces; but until now it is not heard that they are on their march; and today an advice from the neighbour-*

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hood of Gravelines announces their having made a foray (che sono corsi) *as far as Dunkirk, three leagues on this side of Gravelines, and some persons believe them to have taken it, but this is not certain.*

In the meanwhile King Philip's army is being reinforced, cavalry and infantry arriving constantly and joining the rest of the troops towards Valenciennes, where, as written by me, the Duke of Savoy is to make the muster, and today he was to leave Namur, where he has been all this time, and will go in that direction, nor is it yet heard what expedition he will undertake, though some days ago it was said he would besiege Guise, it being true that the troops on those frontiers foraged as far as that place, and made some booty, but nothing of importance. It is not yet known when his Majesty will depart, but, as I wrote, every one is prepared, and since many days the waggons (li carri) *have been under requisition for the Court, as if they were to leave instantly; and yesterday some waggons were sent to Antwerp with valuable effects belonging to the Court which are not required for present use; so it is expected that his Majesty will depart on the sudden, and that no one will know of his departure until the hour when he is about to mount on horseback; still less can it be known what route he will take; nor is it unreasonable for these things to be kept secret, lest they be revealed to the enemy.*

But notwithstanding these warlike intentions, peace nevertheless continues to be talked about; and a few days ago the Marshal de St. André [*Jacques d'Albon*], *who, as written by me heretofore, was engaged in this negotiation, went into France, and they let him go on merchants' security, and with the Constable's promise, he giving his own word to return speedily, and as he is a very leading personage it is believed he will effect something; but happen what may, it will not be too honourable for this side, now that they have lost Thionville, and with it a great part of their repute. There came hither lately that M. de Garaba (sic)* who was governor of Thionville, but he went first to Namur to speak with the Duke of Savoy, who would neither listen to him nor see him, and he is accused of having lost that place by his own fault, it being said that the private soldiers did their duty better than the captains; the King has had him confined to the house, and will prosecute him. His Majesty has also had some other persons arrested in this city on suspicion of giving advices, and amongst the rest an assistant of Secretary Vargas, by name Sanguosa, is talked of.*

Secretary Erasso has also been severely reprimanded, the Duke of Savoy having accused him to the King of raising a difficulty of his own accord, about the contract made with the soldiers, as written in my last, and they wished to punish him for having chosen to take such a step on his own authority, but he excused himself on the plea of having mentioned this his design in the Council, the Duke of Savoy also being present there; and as neither his Excel-

* Jean de Quarible, a gentleman of Brabant. (*See* Père Daniel, Histoire de France, vol. 9, p. 867. Ed. Paris, 1755.)

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lency nor any one else confuted it, he inferred approval of the measure, and therefore attempted it; but the Duke made a great noise about this, and his Excellency's physician told me that he said to King Philip long before, that unless his Majesty provide in such a war that his orders be executed, he will resign his charge of Captain-General; and that if for the Emperor he lost his state, he will not lose what remains to him, viz., his honour and repute.

I respectfully remind your Serenity to have whatever I write kept secret.

Brussels, 2nd July 1558.

[*Italian, in cipher throughout; deciphered by Signor Luigi Pasini.*]

July 10. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

1247. GIOVANNI MICHIEL, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

Since my last of the 2nd confirmation has been received of the taking of all the places in the duchy of Luxemburg, especially of Arlon, which was sacked and burned and in great part destroyed, although contrary to the wish of M. de Guise; but after the sack, the soldiers having commenced setting fire to the place, it then became impossible to quench it, M. de Guise having nearly perished in the flames, as did great part of his effects, together with those of many other great personages, which was a remarkable circumstance. M. de Guise was still under Arlon on the 6th, awaiting there the 3,000 Blacksmiths (*Ferraruoli*), with the son of the late Duke of Saxony, who had not yet arrived, and he would then retreat towards Picardy. The Duke de Némours in the meanwhile, with part of his light cavalry, made a foray as far as under the town of Luxemburg, and commenced a great skirmish (*grossa scaramuccia*) with the enemy, retiring very honourably; and he went back with some profit (*utile*, plunder ?). The most Christian King, still intending to join the camp, chose to go postwise in person last week to Paris, to inspect all his great horses (*i suoi cavalli grossi*),* for which purpose he remained there almost the whole of the week, nor did he return hither until Monday, but with the intention, as told me by the Cardinal of Lorraine, of leaving for the camp in three or four days, though I have been informed by a person very familiar with his Majesty and who constantly accompanies him on all his journeys, that he is determined first of all to have an interview somewhere with M. de Guise, for which purpose he will go postwise to him one of these days, and then return hither to take leave of the Queen, after which he will depart definitely. Yesterday and this morning advices were received purporting that M. de Termes has made such progress where he is that not only did he take the fortress of Borburc (*sic*),† but having crossed the stream above Gravelines‡

* For the term "Great Horses," signifying horses adapted to the weight of a man in armour, *see* "Calendar of State Papers, Domestic, 1547–1580," date, 16th April 1547, p. 3.

† Bourbourg? or Bergue Saint Vinok, as in Père Daniel, vol. 9, p. 871.

‡ The river Aa. *See* Lingard's History of England, vol. 5, p. 257. Ed. London, 1854.

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reached the town of Dunkirk and took it, making so much booty and so many prisoners that they will yield him a considerable sum of money, the Dunkirkers being all wealthy and opulent (*comodi*) through their fishing trade and herring draughts, which are so very lucrative (*et del tratto delle arenghe, che è cosa di tanto momento*); and that he was still continuing his march and proceeding with the intention of foraging as far as Bruges, having at this commencement caused such agitation and alarm in the whole of that Flemish province that the entire population is taking flight, retiring either to Brabant or Hainault, or to the neighbouring provinces, as far away as they can.

Ferté Milon, 10th July 1558.

[*Italian.*]

July 10. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

1248. MICHIEL SURIAN, Venetian Ambassador with King Philip, to the DOGE and SENATE.

Early on the morning of the 4th the Secretary Pellegrin brought me your Serenity's order about the affair of the precedence.* With Pellegrin another courier arrived, despatched by Vargas.

The decision of the Senate was published at the Court, and could not have been heard more bitterly had your Serenity openly declared yourself the partisan of France, which feeling of discontent is so universal that not one single individual in this Court has failed greatly to resent the result. Although what the vulgar think and say should not be held in much account, I perceive that at this Court the majority is vulgar, as both all the grandees and even the King, on the present occasion, feel as the vulgar feel; for all are of opinion that you have done King Philip a most grevious injury, by passing this "judgment" (for such they call it) upon him, and declaring his Majesty inferior to the King of France, and it is the more keenly felt because least expected, as also from its having taken place at a time when the Spaniards are less powerful than the French; so strength and fortune failing them, their great mortification can neither be expressed nor imagined; although the Duke of Alva told me that he attaches less importance to the fact than to the mode in which your Serenity effected it. As they cannot find fault with the decision, they blame the mode in which it was announced, and accuse your Serenity of being intimidated by the threats of the French, which make you forget your love for his

* On the eve of Ascension Day 1558, the Spanish Ambassador Vargas, and François de Noailles, Bishop of Acqs, the representative of Henry II., having announced their intention of disputing *vi et armis* the right of precedence, when accompanying the Doge in the "Bucintor" to espouse the sea, the two Sages of the Council, Bernardo Navagero and Jacopo Loranzo, officially requested them not to attend the ceremony; and shortly afterwards, to prevent a repetition of similar brawls, the Doge and Senate informed Vargas that on the Emperor's retirement to Spain, when he, Vargas, filled the post of ambassador from Philip, King of Spain and England, the decision had been suspended, but the Ambassador from the new Emperor Ferdinand having arrived in Venice, there was no longer any reason for refusing to De Noailles the post always conceded to the King of France, immediately after the Emperor, and before the other Princes of Christendom; as proved by many documents recording treaties of peace, and alliances, and by other public acts. (*See* Andrea Morosini's History of Venice, Italian Translation, p. 310 to p. 315.)

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Majesty, and his honour. This idea of your Serenity's having been moved by fear, arose from its having been thus written from Venice, and I believe by Vargas; the letters of the Florentine Secretary, that rogue del Pero (quel tristo del Pero), *being of the like tenour. Vargas writes it from a wish to excuse himself in this form, from fear of being accused (as he will be) of having promised the King so much in this matter, and the result being so contrary to the hopes thus conceived by his Majesty. I defended this measure by all means possible, at length using such high language as to let it be understood that I would not tolerate their speaking in that way, yet I could obtain no other effect than this, that they speak rather more reservedly; but the opinion impressed on everybody by the letters from Venice is not effaced. Yesterday the Duke of Alva told me that this thing is not feigned* (ferita, finta ?) *here, but came from Venice, and was known through members of the Senate. I rejoined that it was an invention of those who wrote it, and defended your determination.*

The other hostile act (oppositione) *with which they reproach your Serenity is that you have chosen to judge between these two great princes, and that you were the first who willed to pass this sentence at the suit of the French, without even hearing Vargas. This I endeavoured to confute by demonstrating that your Serenity gave no judgment, but that you indeed would have done so, had you continued to insist on suspending or abolishing the place of the French ambassador, who has held it for a thousand years* (già mille anni). *I have spoken hitherto with the Duke of Alva, with the Confessor, and with De Luna, Quiñones, and others, who all see the truth, and the two last have confessed that I speak the truth.*

The general opinion is that they will remove the Ambassador, and send an agent; but I will use all such offices as possible to let them know these two things: the one, which matters the most, that your Serenity has passed no sentence; the other, that you could not do otherwise than you did, not choosing either to judge, nor to show partiality nor to wrong any one; and the offices performed by me hitherto have at any rate borne some fruit, as that first impetuosity is greatly stayed, and there are even some persons who view the matter in its true light; and the more it is examined, that which seems at first so strange and unpleasant, will I hope become bearable from its very fairness, which irritated and inflamed minds do not perceive so immediately; but after my audience of the King I shall be able to give your Serenity more sure advice on the subject.

Brussels, 10th July 1558.

[*Italian, partly in cipher; the portion in italics deciphered by Signor Luigi Pasini.*

July 10. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives. (2nd letter.

1249. MICHIEL SURIAN, Venetian Ambassador with King Philip, to the DOGE and SENATE.

Since the capture by the French in this part of Flanders of Dunkirk, and some other neighbouring places of little importance except on account of the plunder made by them there, and since they took

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Thionville in the Luxemburg territory, they are now marching towards Picardy, perhaps to join the rest of the army in the direction of Flanders and Calais; but in the meanwhile the Duke of Savoy is already at Maubeuge, near Valenciennes, where the troops were to be mustered, and by degrees his army is being re-enforced, and orders have been sent for the English fleet to set sail, though its destination is unknown, as these affairs require secrecy; but apparently the design is for the army to march in the same direction as the fleet, that they may assist each other, and attempt the seizure of some place, either on the sea coast, or inland, so that by keeping and fortifying it, they with the assistance of the fleet and army may isolate (tagliar fuori) *the county of Boulogne and its territory. As yet there are two things evidently against their design, the one is that the French are marching in that direction, the other that the Duke of Savoy having few troops cannot yet think of attempting any important expedition. It is said that he will be as powerful in the field as the French, but until I see him so in fact I dare not affirm it.* The King is still here, not having departed *because he has not ready money for the travelling expenses of the Court, but he is nevertheless* so prepared that from one hour to another he can mount on horse-back, and those who think of following his Majesty do the like. It is true that the courtiers' waggons have been dismissed for a fortnight to save expense, which amounted to a dollar per waggon, but those who bought (*comprati*) waggons for this purpose are by no means free from the cost, being unable to dismiss them; so it is often more advantageous to remain thus ready for a move, than to keep in motion.

The Duke of Parma having come hither, I went to visit him, and his Excellency apologized for not having anticipated me, saying he had intended to do so but was prevented, having as yet only been with the King once, at the hour of his arrival, when he went to kiss hands, booted and spurred as he was.

Brussels, 10th July 1558.

[*Italian, partly in cipher; the portions in italics deciphered by Signor Luigi Pasini.*]

July 14. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

1250. MICHIEL SURIAN, Venetian Ambassador with King Philip, to the DOGE and SENATE.

At this hour, 5 p.m., advices have arrived that his Majesty's troops, about which I write in my other letter under this date,* have routed and annihilated (*et distrutte*) the French forces under Gravelines, capturing M. de Termes, their commander-in-chief on that expedition. The glory of this feat rests with the Comte d'Egmont, a Flemish captain general of the cavalry, and with Don Luis de Caravajal, commander of the Spaniards in Gravelines. Having already despatched the courier Pellegrin I send one of my servants to come

* This letter, giving account of Surian's audience of King Philip, to explain why the Signory gave precedence to France over Spain, cannot be found.

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up with him on the road, if possible, that your Serenity may have advice of this event with the utmost speed.

Brussels, 14th July 1559.

[*Italian.*]

July 15. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

1251. MICHIEL SURIAN, Venetian Ambassador with King Philip, to the DOGE and SENATE.

As the Court is sending a courier to Italy I will say a word about the negotiation of these last few days, concerning which I feared some difficulty might be raised, owing to this victory, my apprehension arising from the nature of this nation, which sometimes allows itself to be transported by prosperity; but what you did is now interpreted in a better sense than it was taken at first, and the reasons alleged to the King and the Duke of Alva produced the necessary effect. Many persons now say that this difficulty about precedence ought not to have been brought forward; and amongst others Don Diego de Mendoza said that he would not have attempted it, and that he would, as much as he could, have avoided meeting the French ambassador, but in case of their meeting he would have given him precedence. The efficacious office performed by me has also obliterated the sinister opinion entertained by them that the Republic had been moved by fear; nor should I have been able to remove the false impression already made, had I not shown myself rather more warm than I usually am, which has been by so much the more to the purpose, as the whole weight of the dilemma reduced itself to this sole opposition, which being removed there no longer remained other cause for complaint; but be God eternally praised for that this thing, from an irritation greater than can be credited, has been brought to a very reasonable state of quiet, and should any innovation be made, such as recalling the ambassador [Vargas] or any other casualty, I know not what more can be desired, for the intention has been announced to me that on my speaking to the King I shall find him otherwise disposed than on the day of my last audience.

To come now to the battle between King Philip's troops and the French, which resulted in this victory, your Serenity will have already learned by my letters that M. de Termes, with his forces, amounting to some 6,000 infantry, including Gascons, Germans, and others of the territory, with from 1,600 to 2,000 horse, after having taken Dunkirk, and sacked some other neighbouring places, encamped under (*s'era messo sopra*) Gravelines, in a position to surround it, relying on the besieged having no army corps; but whilst remaining thus orders were given to the Count d'Egmont and M. de Bennodret (*sic*) [Bugnicourt, Ponce de Lalain] to go and attack him, the one with some 3,000 cavalry, the other with all the infantry he could muster in the territory, besides three regiments (*tre colonelli*) of Germans, two of which are in the service of King Philip, and one, then about to embark for England, marched in that direction. The French, partly on this account, and partly from hunger, having no victuals, decamped and crossed the river [Aa] beyond Gravelines towards Calais, and thinking themselves safe fell in with the Comte,

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who had already crossed it, and after a variety of accidents which kept the two armies in sight of each other for many hours, they at length attacked each other, the French cavalry being routed at the first shock (*nel primo impeto*), but the infantry stood firm for a good two hours, but was at length routed in like manner and utterly dispersed, M. de Termes with the greater part of his forces remaining prisoners; so it has been a great victory *considering the great embarrassment of this side* (questa parte) *both from the losses suffered by them and from the French successes.*

This battle was fought on the sea-shore in the presence of part of the English fleet, which, being unable to assist this side in any other way, it being impossible for them to approach the land, cannonaded the French from afar with their artillery. It is not to be told how much satisfaction this victory has caused to King Philip, to the whole Court, to this city, and to all these provinces; *but it may easily be imagined, considering that they had two hostile armies in the heart of their territory, and both of them successful. Since the advices of this event his Majesty has sent Ascanio dalla Cornia postwise to the Duke of Savoy, with an order about what he is to do; its particulars are unknown, but in substance he is to advance the army farther towards the frontiers, to prevent the war from being again carried so far into the interior. This may be the more easily done as his Excellency is already so much reinforced that if not superior his army is at least equal in amount to that of M. de Guise, which was hastening by forced marches towards those frontiers of Picardy, with the intention, it was supposed, of effecting a junction with this one which has been routed, but he will now be compelled to change his tactics.*

Brussels, 15th July 1558.

[*Italian, partly in cipher; the portions in italics deciphered by Signor Luigi Pasini.*]

July 16. Original Despatch. Venetian Archives.

1252. GIOVANNI MICHIEL, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The most Christian King was to have departed hence yesterday for Picardy to confer with M. de Guise, but will not go until next week, because, as told me by the Cardinal of Lorraine, he will not be there earlier. His Majesty has been enjoying the victories which he heard daily were gained by his forces, having heard that after taking Dunkirk and Borbur (*sic*) M. de Termes also took Berges (*sic*), where the English usually land the merchandise brought by them to Flanders, and that he realised enormous booty there. By the arrival at the Court of the Sea-Captain de Clé (de Cleres?) the King was also assured of the capture made by him of nine English ships to which he gave battle, having found them separated from the rest of the fleet by stress of weather. On board of these vessels, besides other things, he found more than 150 great brass cannons, 80 of which and upwards were mounted on their carriages and ready to be landed for the purpose of battering some place on the coast. The Cardinal of Lorraine told me that owing to the loss of these guns the English

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might be supposed to have abandoned their intentions of attempting any assault, so his Majesty attached great importance to the acquisition of this artillery.

In the midst of rejoicings at such good news, three messengers arrived unexpectedly from Calais, Montreuil, and Boulogne with advices (fortune thus showing her inconstancy) of the rout of M. de Termes, whilst returning hitherwards with his plunder and prisoners. He was surprised and surrounded, when crossing the stream above Gravelines, by from 4,000 to 5,000 of the enemy's horse and 15,000 foot, the greater part having been landed from the English fleet,* and the cavalry being placed in ambuscade on each side of the river, so that M. de Termes until he had reached its banks did not know what awaited him, and after fighting for six or seven consecutive hours, he was routed and roughly handled (*et mal menato*), with the loss of 500 men-at-arms, two of whose companies were the first to cross the river, led by M. de Senarpont [Jean de Mouchy], Knight of St. Michael and Governor of Boulogne, a person in great esteem, and who was cut to pieces with them. All the rest of the cavalry, in number 800 horse, were defeated, the greater part of the infantry likewise, in number 10,000, all Frenchmen, being killed. As yet nothing certain is known about M. de Termes, whether he be dead or alive, but none of his followers nor those of others appearing to say that he has really been found, the worst is anticipated; nothing more being known beyond the narrative of a wounded man-at-arms belonging to the companies who were the first to cross the river, he having by good fortune escaped to Calais. This news has made all here turn pale, and forget the late victories, and what matters more is, that all the best commanders and troops having been removed from Calais, Ardres, Boulogne, Montreuil, and other fortresses to take the field with M. de Termes, the enemy after this rout may advance into France, and probably lay siege to and take Boulogne, which is not only destitute of every provision, but utterly without soldiers and defenders. The enemy may then demand all the other fortresses, each of which has need of either one supply or the other. The garrison of Calais is earnestly asking for powder and ammunition, and that of Montreuil for victuals and refreshments (*rinfrescamenti*); so the King despatched to Boulogne and Calais not only M. de Sipierre, who arrived most opportunely from the camp, but also M. d'Amville, the Constable's son, who was on the point of departure for Piedmont to assume the charge of general of the cavalry there; and he has likewise sent all those now at the Court, who have a sword at their side, be they gentle or otherwise (*ò gentilhuomeni ò d'altra sorte*), the only persons remaining being his Majesty alone and the Cardinal of Lorraine.

Everybody is terrified, the King's sorrow being the greater, as he commanded M. de Termes to leave Calais and advance, as he did, owing to the advices received by his Majesty that there would be no resistance or opposition; so the loss of M. de Termes must be entirely

* This is contradicted in a subsequent despatch.

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attributed to the King. These regrets were increased by the news of a fresh peril incurred by M. de Guise, from which he escaped by a miracle, for an affray having taken place in a certain part of the camp, owing to a German soldier being killed by a Frenchman, these two having come to words when watering their horses, and the two sides having discharged their harquebuses at each other, and M. de Guise hastening to the spot, the German soldiers fired upon him, and although they missed their aim, and several of them were hanged, their captains to absolve themselves offering as hostages their wives and children, and to renew the oath taken by them to serve faithfully, yet from this and many other accidents it being evident how speedily and readily that nation revolts, and how prone it is to mutiny, the Germans, moreover, from their number and force constituting the entire army now on foot of his most Christian Majesty, the personal danger incurred by M. de Guise and his staff is not only rendered more manifest hourly, but also the peril of this kingdom, which is totally in the power and at the mercy of the said nation, there being neither a cavalry nor an infantry force of such quality or number as to be capable of opposing or impeding their wishes.

Ferté Milon, 16th July 1558.

P.S.—16th July, 8 p.m.—Have received from one of the secretaries of the Cardinal of Lorraine news of the death of M. de Termes, although through another channel he is said to have surrendered himself (perhaps not to distress the French people); and that M. de Villebon, Governor of Ardres, after the first engagement, although the water was high, crossed it with the cavalry and saved a great part of the army.

[*Italian.*]

July 17. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

1253. MICHIEL SURIAN, Venetian Ambassador with King Philip, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The King will depart tomorrow morning, Tuesday, for Mons in Hainaut, on his way to the army, and although his Majesty told me to remain here, lest I should be inconvenienced, I have nevertheless performed such an office that I hope it will be conceded me to follow him. I have congratulated his Majesty on this victory, and found that what I wrote lately was the truth, for he received me with words and demonstrations full of goodwill towards your Serenity, and well nigh (*quasi*) of extraordinary affection towards me, much to my comfort.

Brussels, 17th July 1558.

[*Italian.*]

July 19. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

1254. GIOVANNI MICHIEL, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The rout of M. de Termes took place as written by me, except that the enemy had no infantry, neither English nor of any other nation, but only a cavalry force of from four to five thousand men, all Pistolers or Blacksmiths led by M. de Benincourt (*sic*), on whom

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with all the others great praise is bestowed for the speed made by him, as from his starting point to the field of battle, a distance of 20 Flemish leagues, he employed but one day and one night, which was the cause of M. de Termes' never having news of him; but he had not much spare time, and if perchance he had found the French on this side of the Aa, instead of on the other, De Termes would have saved himself, the height of the water preventing them from pursuing or reaching him; but when he got to the river the flood tide delayed his passage for four or five hours until it ebbed, and thus it was easier for the enemy to accomplish their designs, they having calculated the ebb and flow of the tide, knowing that at such an hour M. de Termes could not cross; so being taken unawares in a most disadvantageous position, his troops being all in confusion and disorder, and embarrassed by the plunder they were taking with them, he was routed immediately, and the more easily as his cavalry would not fight, but took flight and surrendered voluntarily. Thus he was utterly defeated at once, and of 500 men-at-arms, and 700 or 800 other horse, two companies alone with M. de Villebon* were saved by retreating to the sea when the ebb tide commenced, and having found a ford they were enabled to cross in safety and save themselves.† All the infantry in number some 8,000 were roughly handled (*malmenati*), but more of them were drowned than killed; amongst them a thousand German veterans, who, although they fought very bravely to the last, keeping always in their ranks, were likewise all slain. Messieurs de Termes and Senarpont, the two chief personages, (there being no other chiefs or distinguished men of greater repute) were both wounded and taken prisoners into Gravelines. As yet there are no other authentic particulars known, everybody speaking on the subject as little as possible, a sign that there may be something worse than what is reported. This defeat has quite annihilated the projects formed previously, and the only consolation they derive from it is that the enemy having neither infantry or artillery, nor any other things required for any expedition, except cavalry, they will be unable for the present to advance farther into the French territory in that direction, which will give time for securing and provisioning the fortresses there, which have need of many things. After the despatch of M. d'Amville, M. de Sipierre and the others, his Majesty next morning sent M. d'Orfe (d'Urfe?), gouty and infirm (*impedimentato*) as he is, although not a soldier, so that there may be a person of repute in Montreuil, the place of his destination. M. d'Aumale is also said to have been ordered from Picardy to Abbeville, which is in a very bad state; and M. de Lansac has been appointed to guard Calais (*alla guardia di Cales*).

Last week in public in the great hall, there being present the King of Navarre and all the other knights of the Order now at the Court, his

* Villebon, Jean, d'Estouteville. (*See* the late Sir William Hackett's Index to Foreign Calendar "Mary.")

† No mention is made of the English Admiral Malin with his 12 vessels at the mouth of the Aa, the broadside of whose ships obtained the victory for the Flemings. (*See* Lingard, vol. 5, p. 257.)

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most Christian Majesty received a herald from Flanders, who came on behalf of the late Emperor Charles V. with letters from Spain to the effect, that owing to his many ailments (*per la molta indisposition sua*) he living in total retirement, and having divested himself of every kingdom, dignity, and public administration, he sent back the great collar with the other insignia (*insieme con gli altri ornamenti*) of the Order of St. Michael received from King Francis, he for the same reason having returned that of the Fleece. His most Christian Majesty accepted the collar readily, answering the herald himself that although it was contrary to the statutes of the Order to accept and send back the collars, until after the death of those to whom they had been given, yet nevertheless, admitting the cause and impediments which had been written by the Emperor, and which the said herald had set forth, he received it willingly, and would give orders for his discharge to be given him, and the due certificates, presenting the herald also with the very honourable present of 1,000 crowns and thus dismissing him.*

Ferté Milon, 19th July 1558.

[*Italian.*]

July 25. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

1255. GIOVANNI MICHIEL, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The English have retaken Alderney† (*Origni*) one Captain Malherbe and several soldiers (*parechi soldati*) having been killed; and since the English fleet withdrew towards Scotland it seems that nothing more is known of it.

Ferté Milon, 25th July 1558.

[*Italian.*]

July 31. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

1256. GIOVANNI MICHIEL, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The King having heard that his army was within two leagues of Laon (*Lam*), and 10 leagues from this place, determined to go thither, and departed hence yesterday with the King-Dauphin, who has completely recovered his health, the King of Navarre, and the Duke of Lorraine, and all the rest of the Court; the enemy's army being 10 leagues from Laon (*Lam*), at a place called Marolles, in a very strong position, where heretofore the Emperor also halted. Shortly before his Majesty departed the Prince of Ferrara and his brother, Don Alvise, arrived postwise, both one and the other of them being more cordially greeted than they would have been some time ago, as they come at a moment of such great need of men of every condition, from the want and loss of them which his Majesty day by day more and more knows he has incurred through

* The Venetian Ambassador does not give the date of the Emperor's resignation of the orders of the Fleece and St. Michael, nor do I find any notice of the circumstance in Mignet's "Charles Quint, son abdication," &c.

† *See* letter dated 25 June, in which the *name* of the island is not given. In Campbell's "Naval History of England," vol. 2, p. 276, the seizure of *Sarke* is mentioned, but that name could not be converted into *Origni*, which I believe means Alderney.

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the rout of the Constable at St. Quentin, and this last defeat of M. de Termes. Whoever comes (not only princes and lords) is very well received by him, as he infers from their appearance here that he had not lost that credit and repute which he attributed to himself before those disasters; so he is glad to see all comers, and above all those from whom he can derive the greatest profit and honour (*ornamento*), such as foreigners and great personages.

The master of the ship on board of which were the goods loaded in the name of Ragazzoni, has been allowed to proceed on his voyage, and the Royal Council, after examination of the bills of lading, will decide whether Ragazzoni is, or is not, a naturalized Englishman.

Rheims (*Rens*), 31st July 1558.

[*Italian.*]

Aug. 10. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

1257. GIOVANNI MICHIEL, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The Cardinal of Lorraine told me to congratulate the King on a fresh victory obtained against the English and Flemish fleet. The news of this arrived this morning, purporting that the said fleets having landed a great number of troops near Brest,* the ships being upwards of 250, and very well armed, the assailants failed to take any place, but were bravely repulsed by the inhabitants of the territory, who killed more than 1,200 of them, took four colours (*insegne*), and made many prisoners, including the Vice-Admiral (*il Luogotenente*) of the Dutch fleet, so that both squadrons put to sea, and determined neither to approach that part of the coast, nor again to invade it. When with the King today at Marse (*sic*), a place distant rather more than a league from the camp, I read to him your Serenity's letter which mentions the taking of the island of Alderney (*dell'Isola d'Origni*); his Majesty replied, "You are well aware that this island was recovered by the English, more than 500 of my troops having been killed; I now tell you that eight or ten days ago it was again retaken."

Laon (*Lam*), 10th August 1558.

[*Italian.*]

Aug. 18. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

1258. MICHAEL SURIAN, Venetian Ambassador with King Philip, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The King has left Mons and gone to Arras. His Majesty will remain where he is until the decision of the Diet of these States, which he convoked solely for pecuniary supply, because the monthly cost of the army amounts to 300 (*sic*) ducats, besides the cavalry and infantry of these provinces (*di questi paesi*) which are paid by the States (*dalli Stati*) according to the agreement made heretofore. As his Majesty does not intend to disarm so long as the weather allows him to keep the field, and, as neither the loan contracts (*li accordi*) with the Genoese and Antwerp merchants, nor the money

* Before the haven of Conquet, on the 29th June. (*See* "Naval History," vol. 2, p. 273.

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received from Spain in May and by the last fleet suffice, it is sought to raise funds, both by demanding subsidies from the people, and also by disposing of whatever the King possesses that will fetch money. *The sale of public offices, which it was heretofore customary to bestow on meritorious individuals, has already commenced, the chief secretaryship of Naples having been sold to a Spaniard for* 20,000 *crowns; and previously a commandery in Spain, yielding* 15,000 *crowns annual rental, was given to a Genoese, who, having accommodated the King with a considerable sum of money, was paid partly with that commandery and in part by other assignments.*

The army has marched into Picardy, and is now between Peronne and Bapaume at a place called Miramond, which is devastated, like the rest of the territory for some leagues inland, the French themselves having laid it waste to prevent the advance of the enemy. The French have a large army *perhaps equal in number and force to King Philip's.* The English fleet went to take La Rochelle or any other place that suited them, either on the coast of Gascony or Britany; the wind drove it into Normandy near Brest, where it landed and burned a place called Conquet, sacking and plundering the neighbouring territory; and, as I hear, the natives having assembled in great numbers, it would not await them, but returned to England with a number of French ships which it had captured, nor is it known to have again set sail from England, nor what expedition it intends to undertake.

Brussels, 18th August 1558.

[*Italian, partly in cipher; the portions in italics deciphered by Signor Luigi Pasini.*]

Aug. 21. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

1259. MICHIEL SURIAN, Venetian Ambassador with King Philip, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The King left Arras yesterday morning and went to the army, which he marched from Miramond towards Doulens, although the opinion is that they mean to attack that place. I hear his Majesty would prefer an expedition against Montreuil, which, although stronger than Doulens, he hopes to reduce with the assistance of the English fleet, and were the French to lose it they could no longer succour Boulogne, Calais, and other places in that quarter. The French camp is at Corbie, three or four leagues distant from King Philip's camp.

Brussels, 21st August 1558.

[*Italian.*]

Aug. 29. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

1260. GIOVANNI MICHIEL, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

Until yesterday the most Christian King was at Amiens, with the fixed intention of joining the camp, the army having already crossed the Somme, to get still nearer to that of the enemy, which is yet in the vicinity of Doulens, and entrenching itself there, the two armies being separated from each other solely by the river Oise, which may be forded without difficulty. Notwithstanding the

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vicinity of the two armies peace and agreements continue to be freely discussed by everybody, as since the return to Flanders of the Marshal de St. André, he and the Constable continue treating it here, the Bishop of Arras and the Count de Lalain doing the like over there (*di là*); and they write from the camp that according to the Duke of Montpensier, who lately arrived there, being now released from prison, having paid his ransom of 60,000 francs by the sale of an estate in Flanders belonging to himself and his brother, the hope of some good resolve increases daily in France, for which reason the Cardinal of Lorraine remains with the King, nor will he come hither so immediately, where he is anxiously expected, and much wanted by the Royal Council, which, during his absence, does not dare to despatch nor to decide about any matter of importance of the many which occur daily. Concerning the particulars of the agreement nothing authentic can be elicited, but amongst other reports is the following: *that the Duke of Florence sent lately through the Prince of Ferrara, his son-in-law, to offer in his name that, provided his most Christian Majesty would form a family connexion with him, either by giving his eldest or his second daughter to the Prince, his son, he, the Duke of Florence, has the means* (gli basta l'animo) *to effect the agreement between the King of France and the King of Spain to the satisfaction of both sides.*

It is also said that since the coming of the Queen to this city this report of peace and agreement is allowed to circulate designedly, to cajole and comfort the Parisians, as Paris being the metropolis, that implies the whole kingdom, rather than that there are really such great hope and negotiation as reported.

Paris, 29th August 1558.

[*Italian, partly in cipher, deciphered by Signor Luigi Pasini.*]

Sept. 3. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

1261. MICHIEL SURIAN, Venetian Ambassador with King Philip, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The army is still within one league from Doulens, but the trenches are not even commenced, and the greater part of the battering train is still at Arras, and as the summer is over, this undertaking seems more difficult than at first; besides, the French not being more than three or four leagues from King Philip's camp, they can cross the Somme whenever they please at any point. The French soldiers enter Doulens almost in sight of the King and of all these lords, so the place is sufficiently garrisoned. Forage becomes scarcer daily, as the foragers can no longer go into the French territory for supplies, it being unsafe; they therefore go within sight of Arras far in the interior of Artois, having already consumed whatever was nearer the army. It was consequently determined by the Council to move the army, and quarter it more conveniently elsewhere, nearer the French territory, to provide forage there rather than in King Philip's provinces. Accordingly it was ordered to reconnoitre the country, to which effect a number of the chief nobility, with Count d'Egmont, the Duke of Parma, and the Duke of Alva, and an escort of 600 cavalry set out, so that well nigh a

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semi-engagement took place (*di che ne seguì quasi un mezzo fatto d'arme*), for when at a short distance from where the army is encamped they discovered a considerable force of French cavalry, which had crossed the Somme; the Spaniards thereupon sent some harquebusiers to reconnoitre, and the French despatched others to the camp for succour. Those who went to reconnoitre the French were slain, and the others on returning to the camp gave the alarm in such wise that the whole army was in battle array instantly, and the King in person showed himself armed and on horseback, although his attendants suggested (*benchè fusse consigliato dalli sui*) that it was not either the time nor the occasion for his Majesty to move; but he replied that he desired to go himself wheresoever his nobility were, either for good or evil; which demonstration, although it evinced great love for his attendants, showed that he had not becoming regard for the royal person. Whilst these preparations however were being made, the French retired to their own camp, and the Spaniards merely explored the territory and saved some waggons which had been foraging in that direction. It is generally reported that the camp will shift its quarters, as although they are strong and secure, yet the country is so exhausted by foraging that it is not a position from which any undertaking can be planned, so that unless peace or a truce be made, these two armies will remain for this year wasting their pay without any other effect than thwarting each other's designs.

Brussels, 3rd September 1558.

[*Italian.*]

Sept. 3. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

1262. GIOVANNI MICHIEL, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The armies are between Doulens and Amiens only five leagues distant from each other, both being entrenched in their fortresses, nor is any important encounter heard of, both sides being cautious in undertaking the usual skirmishes, which M. de Guise has prohibited on this side, under very heavy penalties, either to avoid some disorder, as skirmishes often lead to a general engagement, or perhaps from not feeling very sure of the Pistolers or Blacksmiths (*Ferraruoli*), who made a foray lately in good company (*in buona compagnia*) with M. d'Aumale, but having met a squadron of the said Blacksmiths in the enemy's service, when M. de Aumale, somewhat to his disadvantage (for he was afraid of ambuscades) wished to charge them, his troops not only refused to do so, but said freely that they would not fight against their own countrymen, as they also would do the like by them; so M. d'Aumale had to retreat, and to be patient. The Duke de Guise nevertheless did not fail to go forth the other day with 2,000 horse, and 4,000 foot, to approach the enemy and show himself in sight of their camp, which never stirred; and after having tarried there a very long while, he returned without the enemy's having made any movement; and M. de Nevers is also said to have done the like lately.

In the camp there are many on the sick list, and part of them great personages, such as the Duke de Guise, the Prince of Ferrara,

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the Duke de Bouillon, and others, but their malady is neither dangerous nor contagious; and the most Christian King has been and is troubled with toothache and catarrh. The other army is also heard to be suffering from the same maladies, for which reason King Philip has retired to Arras, where it has been heard from the lips of Queen Catherine and from a lord of quality just returned from the camp that they are strongly urging the agreement, King Philip having permitted the Constable and the Marshal de St. André to go thither to confer with Don Ruy Gomez, the Count de Feria, and the Bishop of Arras, and they are still negotiating; so that either from the very great wish for the settlement, or because matters are really in a fair way, there are high hopes of a good result. Much is said on the subject, though no particulars are known, and it seems that on this account the Cardinal of Lorraine has remained with the King in the camp, nor is he expected to return hither so immediately as it was said he would do, this evening.

A merchant who arrived here two days ago with a safeconduct from England reports, as an eye-witness, that on the 30th ultimo the English fleet was off St. Valery, a port in Normandy, it being divided into two or three squadrons (*partita in due o tre pezzi*), without giving sign of undertaking any expedition, though it was suspected, and is still feared, that they may come and land at the port of Etaples, to join their troops with those of King Philip's army, nor would it be in their power here to prevent the descent there.

Paris, 3rd September 1558.

[*Italian.*]

Sept. 4. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

1263. MICHIEL SURIAN, Venetian Ambassador with King Philip, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The advices received from the camp purport that the Bishop of Arras went thither last Sunday on a message from the King, as the terms of peace had been proposed to his Majesty through two channels, the one, that of the Marshal de St. André and of the Constable, the other, that of M. de Vaudemont and of the Cardinal of Lorraine. It is therefore expected that in one way or the other some agreement will take place, as the French evince a wish for it, but I hear a leading personage (*un signor principale*) said that the King of France has no wish for peace, but thinks to cajole this King with words until the arrival of the troops expected by him from Piedmont; hence arose the report that the French demand a suspension of hostilities for some days that this affair may be negotiated and concluded. Today I have heard that Secretary Vargas writes from the camp that hostilities will be suspended for eight days.

Brussels, 4th September 1558.

[*Italian.*]

Sept. 6. MS. St. Mark's Library, Cod. XXIV., cl. X., p. 197.

1264. CARDINAL POLE to KING PHILIP.

Has received the letter which the King was pleased to write to him, from Don Juan de Acunha, and with great pleasure heard from him of his Majesty's good state. Acunha will report the

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particulars of the Queen's indisposition, and how our Lord God granted us the grace four days ago to free her from all feverish symptoms, and as her Majesty is not liable to them they could not but cause us much anxiety, but the physicians were and are of opinion that through this malady she will obtain relief from her habitual indisposition; and may it thus please the goodness of God, and may He preserve her Majesty for the welfare of this realm.

During her malady the Queen did not fail to take the greatest care of herself, following the advice of the physicians; and by continuing to do so it is hoped she will recover, and daily more and more establish her health; a result to which nothing can contribute more than to receive frequent good news of his Majesty.

For some days Pole has been ill of a double quartan ague, but without any other ailment, though at his age, and with his constitution, he cannot but consider this indisposition very serious. By the grace of God, he is resigned to what Divine Providence shall be pleased to ordain for him; and is the more ardent and ready in praying the goodness of God for his Majesty, as the present state of affairs has need of it, for the benefit and quiet of Christendom, and for the comfort of his realms; and he humbly kisses King Philip's hands.

Lambeth, 6th September 1558.

[*Italian.*]

Sept. 25. **1265.** CARDINAL POLE to KING PHILIP.

MS. St. Mark's Library, Cod. XXIV., cl. X., pp. 197, recto & verso.

Too great is the benignity which your Majesty has deigned to use towards me, showing by the letter of the 15th instant which you were pleased to write to me, that in the midst of so many and such serious occupations, you take into such affectionate account my indisposition and my health, which, God is my witness, for no other cause do I value more than that it may enable me to serve His Divine Majesty by serving your Majesties.

I, for myself, remain with my double quartan ague, which more or less molests me, and by the grace of God with my mind disposed towards whatever it shall please His Divine Providence to ordain for me; and should He now be pleased now to call me to Him, what occurs to me in that case—availing myself of the very gracious offer which your Majesty has deigned to make me—is, to beseech you with all affection, as I now do, to have as recommended those few individuals of my household whom I brought with me from Italy, for whom I have not had the means to provide out of my own substance as I willingly would have done, having always been served by them with much love and fidelity, and my nature being at all times very averse to seek this object by molesting your Majesty, or any other prince, in like manner as even for myself I never have done so; but in the present instance the very kind offer which your Majesty has vouchsafed to make me renders me thus bold, and again I beseech it of you with the utmost earnestness.

It is unnecessary for me to say anything more to your Majesty about the state of the most serene Queen, as I know that you are fully advised of it, both through her own letters and by those of

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others. Her hope of the good result of your Majesty's affairs, and of being soon consoled by your presence, is in fact the best and most efficacious remedy for all her ailments, and to receive frequent and good advices from your Majesty, kissing whose hand humbly, I pray our Lord God that by removing the obstacles caused by these wars and discords He may grant you means and faculty whereby fully to comfort your own realms and all Christendom.

London, 25th September 1558.

[*Italian.*]

Oct. 1. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

1266. MICHIEL SURIAN, Venetian Ambassador with King Philip, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The army commenced its march early this morning, and will encamp this evening at Château Auxy, six leagues from Hesdin, and four leagues from its last encampment. The move was made in order to have greater supply of forage, and by taking that route to render the French suspicious about the Montreuil expedition, as projected heretofore; and should the weather favour it, and the peace be not made, they would attempt it.

Brussels, 1st October 1558.

[*Italian.*]

Oct. 8. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

1267. MICHIEL SURIAN, Venetian Ambassador with King Philip, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The camp yesterday left Château Auxy to advance one league towards Hesdin and remain there, his Majesty also intending to go thither to inspect that fortress, which he has not yet seen. Before the army decamped from Auxy, they captured the French company of men-at-arms of d'Etamps, which came to give the alarm to the army, and without any danger they took the whole company, and also some light horse of other companies; but the French nevertheless continue their usual forays, which render the roads unsafe in every direction.

Arras, 8th October 1558.

[*Italian, partly in cipher; the portion in italics deciphered by Signor Luigi Pasini.*]

Oct. 16. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

1268. MICHIEL SURIAN, Venetian Ambassador with King Philip, to the DOGE and SENATE.

On the 13th the Commissioners appointed by both sides met at an abbacy between Doulens and King Philip's camp to conclude (*per dar fine a*) this treaty of peace; and on the part of his Majesty they are those three who negotiated at Lille, viz., Don Ruy Gomez, the Bishop of Arras, and the Prince of Orange, and besides, the Duke of Alva and Dr. Viglius, President of the Council of these provinces. The other five on the part of France are the Cardinal of Lorraine, the Constable, the Marshal de St. André, the Bishop of Orleans, and the Secretary Aubespine.

On the 14th they were to commence negotiations, and according to report the French make a great difficulty not only about restoring

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Calais, but also with regard to Piedmont. As to Calais, remarks circulate through the Court that it was not taken from King Philip, but from the English, who, besides not having chosen to defend it at the time, nor to admit the succour sent them by King Philip, would not even make any attempt to recover it; and that that place was heretofore part of the kingdom of France, and not of England, so the French have not taken what belonged to others, but recovered their own; which speeches, and other similar ones, merely imply a tacit apology, in case peace be made without the restitution of that place. The English Ambassadors, who arrived here three days ago, are nevertheless going tomorrow morning to the camp about this matter, and have brought with them several writings of agreements made heretofore with the deceased kings of France, whereby Calais is freely ceded to the English, in exchange for other things which they ceded to the French, so that place had become their own both in right of renunciation and by uninterrupted possession during two hundred years and more; but the French remain at any rate firm in not choosing to restore it.*

About the affairs of Piedmont great difficulty was made so long back as when these Commissioners were at Lille, and one of the causes for which they were on the point of breaking off the negotiation was that Ruy Gomez by order of the King chose to ascertain whether the French had authority from their King to treat about the restoration of the Duke of Savoy; thereupon the French withdrew together, and finally said they had authority; so the negotiation was continued, and it was hoped that the matter would be adjusted thus, that certain fortresses were to remain in the hands of the French, and some others in those of King Philip, for reciprocal security, and the rest to be restored to the Duke; but the French would not condescend even to these conditions, which these lords regret, not so much perhaps on account of the Duke, of whom they are weary, he having satiated them (del quale sono stracchi et satii), *in like manner as his Excellency is dissatisfied with all the Spaniards* (siccome sua Eccza è mal contenta de tutti loro), *as because they would seem to lose repute, were they to make peace, leaving St. Quentin and Han to the French, the latter giving back nothing of importance but Thionville, which is of little account as compared with those two places so far in the interior of France and which constitute so wide a gate whereby this King might enter at his pleasure and invade that realm. Concerning the affairs of Tuscany, it is difficult and perhaps impossible to adjust them as desired by the Duke of Florence, who, as written by me some days ago, desired his Ambassador to remind King Philip that in this treaty of peace he has to make the French vacate the Siennese towns held by them; as it seems that according to the treaty with the Duke when he conceded him Sienna, his Majesty bound himself, in case he made peace with the French, to compel them to deliver up all those places to his Excellency, and should peace not be made,*

* The Earl of Arundel, Bishop of Ely, and Dr. Wotton. (*See* Foreign Calendar, "Mary," p. 400.)

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to assist him with cavalry and infantry for their recovery. This matter being now proposed at the conference gave the French an opportunity to demand the restitution of liberty to Sienna, which thing, as these lords are dissatisfied with that Duke, who is very openly abused at the Court, does not seem to be distasteful, and I am assured that if the other obstacles are removed King Philip will easily consent to the will of the French in this respect, although it seems monstrous (gran cosa) *to believe that so great a king can entertain this wish to deprive others of what he has once given them; yet the hatred of this entire nation against the Duke of Florence is so great as to warrant the belief that if in their power they would do this and yet greater things to the detriment of his Excellency, and persuade his Majesty that he committed an act of great injustice in depriving that poor city of its liberty and subjecting it to that Prince, than whom no one could be more odious and offensive* (ingrato) *to that population* (a quelli).

Bethune, 16th October 1558.

[*Italian, partly in cipher; the portion in italics deciphered by Signor Luigi Pasini.*

Oct. 18. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

1269. MICHIEL SURIAN, Venetian Ambassador with King Philip, to the DOGE and SENATE.

These lords have hope and are almost certain that peace will be concluded, although there are some who believe that the French do not intend to make peace, but to keep the King at his present great cost without producing any effect. His Majesty, being convinced of this, wished a few days ago to make the expedition against Doulens, which was considered practicable, and he continued of this mind for two days, but the negotiation for the peace becoming closer and closer, the Duke of Alva reminded his Majesty that should he take Doulens, he would have to give it back were any agreement made, thus incurring the toil and cost fruitlessly; and what mattered yet more was that Doulens remaining as at present without being rendered stronger than it is, his Majesty could take it at any time, but to take it now to give it back would merely serve as a warning to the French to fortify it in such a way that he could never again think of capturing it; which caused the King to change his opinion.

Should peace be made through the restoration of the Duke of Savoy, his Majesty going to Spain, and that Duke to his Duchy, a Regent (un Governator) *must be provided for these provinces; so it was settled to send to Spain for Queen Maria,* she being deemed more opportune for this need than any other person, although some of these Flemish lords would not wish for her, and the Count d'Egmont told the King, more openly than the others, so to provide that, should Queen Maria return, he be not under her command, as he would rather resign all the honours and offices held under his Majesty, than be subjected to that Queen's commands.*

* Maria, Queen-Dowager of Hungary, sister of Philip II.)

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But as there is some doubt of her choosing to return, in which case some other regent must be provided, and the Duchess of Lorraine not suiting (non piacendo) *as she lacks the vigour* (vivacità) *and experience of Queen Maria, the Duke of Alva desires to obtain this post for himself, and that he may the more easily succeed, he has familiarized and humbled himself with all these Flemish nobles, and performs every possible office, nor is he without hope, most especially from his being in greater favour with the King than he was some months ago, as whilst his Majesty was with the army the Duke's opinion in council was always acknowledged to be more prudent and judicious than that of any of his colleagues.*

In the meanwhile King Philip's army suffers much from the bad weather, owing to which many horses and many soldiers have perished, most especially Germans, there being also an infinite number of invalided soldiers owing to the cold, and to the heavy and incessant rain which for the last month has never stopped day or night, and all the roads are broken up, so that with the utmost difficulty and in very small quantity can victuals reach the camp, where there is great scarcity of provender likewise. Many members of the Council are of opinion that the artillery should be removed and taken into some town, lest they deteriorate, or, should the roads become worse than they are, lest it become necessary, with loss and shame, to abandon the guns. To-day, which had been appointed for a foraging expedition, the weather is execrable; and as it is impossible for the army to remain long in this fashion, it may therefore be considered certain that whether the peace take place or not, it must very soon dissolve.

Bethune, 18th October 1558.

[*Italian, partly in cipher; the portions in italics deciphered by Signor Luigi Pasini.*]

Oct. 18. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

1270. GIOVANNI MICHIEL, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

Last night the equerry (*il scudier*) Carnevalletto arrived here postwise, having been despatched by the most Christian King's Commissioners to his Majesty, who sent him hither immediately to the Queen*, who told my secretary this morning that she had advices from the King, that at the second meeting of the Commissioners, to remove any cause of confusion, they had agreed to a suspension of hostilities for only 20 days, that the negotiation might be more conveniently continued; the armies on both sides being bound to retreat a distance of four leagues into their own territories, from the spot where they now find themselves; and that concerning the chief points, two articles had been already proposed and agreed to, the one about the marriage of the Princess Isabel, his Majesty's eldest daughter, to Don Carlos, the Catholic King's son; the other, that each Crown was to give up five fortresses. They then commenced discussing the restoration of the Duke of Savoy, to which the

* Catherine de Medici, not Mary Stuart, the Queen Dauphin, who was also in Paris.

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Spanish Commissioners would not consent without the restitution of Piedmont, which not being conceded, the Queen feared that the agreement to all the other demands would likewise be excluded. When the Secretary told her that it was nevertheless said that the Duke of Savoy was content with the compensation, and that his most Christian Majesty for the attainment of peace consented to give it, she confirmed this, saying, "It is true the King would give it, but you know the obstinacy (*la durezza*) of these Commissioners, who were also again to confer together this day, and we will wait to see what fruit this other discussion may produce." From this it would appear that the affairs of the Duke of Savoy are not in the state represented of late by many persons here, including even chief ministers, and those of greatest authority.

My secretary did not omit to ask the Queen likewise if anything had been said about Italian matters, and those of Metz and Calais; Her Majesty replied negatively; but I am informed by an eye-witness that two English personages were present at the conference with King Philip's Commissioners, sent by Queen Mary for the interests of that kingdom, and especially for the restoration of Calais, which will greatly increase the difficulties of the agreement, for his most Christian Majesty will not surrender Calais, as told me plainly by the Cardinal of Lorraine, who confirmed the like to me about the city of Metz. I have seen a letter from a person of quality, purporting that should it be necessary to form a matrimonial alliance with the Duke of Savoy, it will be made with his Majesty's second daughter [Claude], whom he promised to the Duke of Lorraine, rather than with the King's sister Madame Marguerite, for whom the Duke has no fancy (*non pensa*), though here it is believed otherwise.

A courier from Portugal has brought news of the death of the late Emperor, which took place on the 20th September, his body having been taken and interred at Granada, near the Catholic Kings [Ferdinand and Isabella], the Empress, and others of his lineage (*del suo sangue*).

Paris, 18th October 1558.

[*Italian.*]

Oct. 21. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

1271. GIOVANNI MICHIEL, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

After the Commissioners met for the third time, the Cardinal of Lorraine went postwise to the King, remaining the night, and then went back immediately with his Majesty's ultimatum and decision.

Yesterday the Queen departed hence suddenly with the Queen-Dauphin and Madame Marguerite, they having been called by the King to the city of Beauvais, whither he prepared to go to see the Queen (she having most strongly urged him thus to do, three months having already elapsed without their seeing each other) as also to enjoy the fruit of the 20 days' truce. The agreement is already thought to be quite settled, though either to give time for disbanding the troops, and procuring their pay, or for some other purpose, its proclamation is delayed. Of this there are more cer-

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tain and manifest signs daily, not only by the King's retiring, and by his sending for the women (*non per il retirarsi che fa S. Mtà, chiamando a se le donne*), as because the disbanding of the troops, and the breaking up of the camp, have commenced in earnest; the like being also done in King Philip's camp. But what matters more is, that the Papal Legate here has been informed on very high authority that all the disagreements and differences between these Kings are already settled and at an end; and the only obstacle being caused by the Duke of Savoy's still insisting if not on the whole of Piedmont, at least a part of it, it remains to find some means more to his satisfaction than those suggested hitherto; but should they not be found, and he still obstinately refuse the compensation offered him, this side will not fail on his account (*per lui*) to carry into effect all the other things (*cose*) concluded and to publish the agreement; these two Kings having quite determined to be friends, and to make peace together. From the affirmation of the Legate here, your Serenity may be no less assured that the *peace* (for such is it called, and not *truce*) is concluded, than you would be by its proclamation.

Paris, 21st October 1558.

[*Italian.*]

Oct. 25. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

1272. GIOVANNI MICHIEL, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

By my secretary's letter from Beauvais the Queen told him that down to yesterday the Commissioners had formed no decision about the affairs of the Duke of Savoy, it seeming on the contrary that this matter had rather increased the difficulty which existed between them previously, his most Christian Majesty awaiting news of its settlement very anxiously. It is supposed that on the part of King Philip the delay has for object to seize in the meanwhile some other fortress in Piedmont besides those already taken, and especially Casale.

After the affairs of the Duke of Savoy there remained for discussion those of Calais, and the Queen told my secretary that until the 24th not a word had been uttered by the Commissioners [the Earl of Arundel, the Bishop of Ely, and Dr. Wotton] from the Queen of England. Concerning the marriage of the most Christian King's daughter to Don Carlos, I have also heard on good authority that as to dower his Majesty refers himself to the King Catholic, knowing that regard will thus be had for the merit (*merito*), condition, and grandeur of his daughter, she being born of such a father, as also for the qualities of the husband to be given her; and when King Philip goes to Spain, Don Carlos will come to reside in Flanders.

I have also ascertained who told the Legate that the peace was agreed to and concluded, and although he is entitled to all credence, being in fact (after the Cardinal of Lorraine and the Duke de Guise) the greatest of the King's ministers, nevertheless I am of opinion that he may have been deceived, either from the natural tendency of this nation not only to believe whatever they desire, but to

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assert and consider it a fact, or else because it suits him to say so, and have it thus believed, in order more easily to execute the charge assigned him, he having remained here to speed the exaction of pecuniary supply, so that every one, when convinced of peace, anticipating a long cessation of turmoil, may the more willingly accommodate his Majesty; a result so auspiciously obtained by him, that during the last few days he has got (*cavato*) from the treasurers and receivers of the provinces, though the greatest amount was derived from the inhabitants of this city, upwards of 900,000 francs, which, within three days, will all have been sent to the paymaster and to M. de Guise, who has remained at Amiens, and still continues breaking up (*disfacendo*) the camp, having disbanded the two cornets of "Blacksmiths" of the Duke of Luneburg, who is however still under custody at Amiens, the Duke de Guise urging his most Christian Majesty to make some demonstration against him for his having insulted his Excellency. The Duke de Nevers, with an escort of light horse, has been charged to conduct the rest of the said "Blacksmiths," with the exception of those of the Duke of Saxony, to the extremity of the confines towards the Duchy of Luxemburg, to prevent them from ravaging the country on their march, as they would have done. These men were dismissed, but as they only journey four leagues per day, before arriving at the frontiers (were the agreement not to take place), they might be re-engaged.

The Duke of Saxony in person will conduct his "Blacksmiths," but it is already reported that he will remain in the French service with an annual provision of 12,000 crowns. The men-at-arms have been almost all partitioned (*repartita*) in the frontier garrisons of Calais, Boulogne, Montreuil, and Abbeville. The six regiments of German infantry, each regiment numbering 10 ensigns, will be reduced to five, and quartered in frontier garrisons, the other five ensigns being dismissed entirely. The Switzers are being marched between Champagne and Burgundy, where they will be paid, but the King has not quite determined about keeping them, to send a part to Piedmont, or to dismiss them completely. The French and Italian gentlemen who followed the King's cornet, departed all together after his Majesty left the camp; and those who brought that large amount of mules from Lyons and Auvergne have been told to depart, and are doing so. Thus at present there is no longer any form of army; and the like having been done on the other side by King Philip, it is supposed that the agreement cannot but take place, and for a long while.

The Legate and all the Ambassadors have been told not to move hence as the King will be here in eight or ten days.

Paris, 25th October 1558.

[*Italian.*]

Oct. 29. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

1273. GIOVANNI MICHIEL, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

On the 27th, a secretary from the Constable presented himself to his Majesty [at Beauvais]; and the Prince of Ferrara told my

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secretary as a great secret, imparted to him by the Cardinal of Lorraine and also by the King, that at the conference nothing was any longer said by the Commissioners about the affairs of the Duke of Savoy, they being considered agreed to, although not published; but with regard to those of England, mentioned three or four days previously by King Philip's commissioners, when they spoke about the restitution of Calais, the Cardinal of Lorraine replied that that cord must not be touched, as it would break the whole thread of the negotiation, nor at the moment was anything more said on the subject, but on the 26th when it was resumed, King Philip's commissioners declared clearly that their King had firmly resolved not to conclude peace without the said restitution; with which resolve the aforesaid secretary having been despatched, his most Christian Majesty sent him back with an express order for his commissioners not to consent to the said restitution. Then this morning, in confirmation of the fact, I was assured that the Commissioners had already taken leave to depart entirely, and return to their Princes without any conclusion, but it seems that subsequently they resumed the conference and the negotiation, so there is no less fear of exclusion than hope of conclusion; in one way or the other the result will be ascertained shortly. In the meanwhile France does not fail to provide with all diligence for the affairs of Piedmont, two regiments, viz., those of the Rhinegrave and Fustenburg, being destined for those parts, and 18 ensigns of Switzers, together with three of the Gray League. The Duke de Guise, the Duke de Nemours, and all the other lords of the camp, arrived at the Court [at Beauvais] yesterday; and today there arrived here the Duke of Saxony, to wait for his most Christian Majesty with the rest of the Court, whose departure from Beauvais depends on the close of the conference, where endless loving demonstrations are exchanged between the Commissioners, even the Duchess of Lorraine having willed to give a banquet to the wife and daughter-in-law of the Constable, who went thither to see him.

Paris, 29th October 1558.

[*Italian.*]

Oct. 29. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

1274. MICHIEL SURIAN, Venetian Ambassador with King Philip, to the DOGE and SENATE.

A few days ago his Majesty received news from England that the Queen was grievously ill, and her life in danger (*che la Regina era aggravata dal male, et non senza pericolo della vita*), *which intelligence, most especially at the present moment, being of very great importance,* so disquieted his Majesty and all these Lords that it was immediately determined to send the Count de Feria to visit the Queen in the name of her consort, *and to treat another affair which I will narrate hereunder,* but, as when the Count was about to depart, a fresh advice arrived that her Majesty's health had improved, he therefore delayed his departure for three or four days longer, and in the meanwhile his household at Brussels is preparing to cross over with him to England, a sign that he will not return hither so speedily.

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Now the matter to be treated by him is the marriage of "Miladi" Elizabeth, to keep that kingdom in any event in the hands of a person in his Majesty's confidence. Last year King Philip gave an order to this effect to his Confessor, who is very dear to the Queen, he laying before her all the considerations both of religion and piety, and of the safety* (salute) *of the realms, and to prevent the evils which might occur were Lady Elizabeth* (quella Signora), *seeing herself slighted* (sprezzata), *to choose, after her Majesty's death, or perhaps even during her lifetime, to take for her husband some individual who might convulse the whole kingdom into confusion. For many days during which the Confessor treated this business, he found the Queen utterly averse* (alienissima) *to give Lady Elizabeth any hope of the succession, obstinately maintaining that she was neither her sister nor the daughter of the Queen's father, King Henry, nor would she hear of favouring her, as she was born of an infamous woman, who had so greatly outraged the Queen her mother, and herself. Notwithstanding this, the Confessor, assiduously and adroitly persevering in this design, effected so much that her Majesty consented to do what the King wished, he expressing great satisfaction at this, but two days later the Queen changed her mind, and the Confessor lays the blame on Cardinal Pole, who, as the project had not been communicated to him, may have performed some contrary office, ignoring that such was the will of the King.*†

Now that things have been in such danger, owing to the Queen's malady, they are sending the Count de Feria that he may try and revive this project, and realize it, but I do not yet know whether with the Duke of Savoy or others, nor can it be known for certain until this peace is concluded or excluded (conclusa ò exclusa); *but the Count's instructions purport that he is to try and dispose the Queen to consent to Lady Elizabeth* (quella Signora) *being married as her sister, and with the hope of succeeding to the crown* (et con la speranza del Regno), *this negotiation having to be treated with the greatest possible secrecy, because these Lords suspect that were the French to come to know it, they would easily find means to thwart the project, as the greater part of England is opposed to the Queen, and most hostile* (inimicissimo) *to King Philip and his dependants, and much inclined towards "Miladi" Elizabeth, who has always shown greater liking* (più sangue) *for the French faction than for this other, being thus habituated in the time of her brother King Edward, when at the summit of her grandeur* (nella sua maggior grandezza).

I heard this thing from a great personage who took part in this consultation, and had a hand in the business heretofore, and he bound me to secrecy, as should it be known my informant would be put to shame and perhaps to loss, nor would it be for your Serenity's advantage nor for the honour of your representatives; but I am certain that nothing which ought to remain secret ever issues from the Senate, although that rogue Pero, the Florentine Secretary (in Venice?), does not cease performing his usual offices, and the

* Francisco Bernardo de Fresneda. (*See* Foreign Calendar "Mary," pp. 363, 364.)

† This negotiation was evidently treated by the Confessor during King Philip's stay in England from the 20th March to the 5th July 1557.

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more now that Vargas is absent; he thinks to do himself honour by writing your Serenity's secrets, or such as he himself fabricates.

Arras, 29th October 1558.

[*Italian, partly in cipher; the portion in italics deciphered by Signor Luigi Pasini.*]

Oct. 31. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

1275. GIOVANNI MICHIEL, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

What I wrote two days ago about the affairs of England at the conference, concerning the restitution of Calais, was subsequently confirmed to my secretary by the Duke de Guise, who desired him to let me know that when the Commissioners assembled at the conference it was with the firm intention of not departing without some good resolve, for which purpose they deemed it well not to come to any particular negotiation, but merely to discourse in general about the differences existing between these Princes. They found in fact that about making the marriages, restoring the fortresses in these parts, adjusting the ancient claims, and finally with regard to satisfying the Duke of Savoy, it was not difficult to make arrangement, as the most Christian King, being well minded, would not look so much to his own individual profit and interest, as to the universal benefit and advantage. But the English have since insisted on the restitution of Calais, and King Philip's ministers say clearly that unless this take place they will not come to any agreement, thus increasing the difficulties, and causing matters to remain undecided. He nevertheless hoped in God that some way would be found to effect their good settlement.

Beauregard, one of the four chief secretaries of the King, then stated the rights alleged by the English to the town of Calais, which were founded principally on a cession made to them by King John of France, when made prisoner by their King, Edward the Third, who took him to England, where he was subjected to a heavy ransom, and to procure it, and to free himself, having been allowed to come to his kingdom, he freely and voluntarily ceded the said fortress; but subsequently being unable to find means to pay the ransom, he, in order not to break faith, returned to England, and at length died there; they adding to this cession, the "prescription" of the period of 200 years and upwards, during which they have been masters and peaceable possessors of the place. They make this additional offer, that either the Pope, or your Serenity, with the most excellent Republic, should decide who is to be its legitimate possessor, and that in the meanwhile Calais should be placed in deposit in the hands of a trustworthy person, meaning King Philip. His most Christian Majesty's ministers answered the English, that the cession made by King John neither could nor ought to be of any value, as made by a person who was not free, but a prisoner, and the prescription of time was invalid, they having been in possession in virtue of the said cession; and with regard to depositing Calais in the hands of anyone, his most Christian Majesty would by no means consent to it. To find a remedy for these difficulties the truce was prolonged during the whole of such time as

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the Commissioners have to remain together, and for eight days afterwards; so the longer this decision is protracted, the more is the opinion confirmed that King Philip's ministers will not insist further on the restitution, but incline towards some other form of adjustment, to try and give satisfaction, as well as they can, to the English, though it is considered difficult (*per veder di dare nel miglior modo che potranno satisfactione agli Inglesi, se bene è reputato difficile*).

Paris, 31st October 1558.

[*Italian.*]

Nov. 3. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

1276. GIOVANNI MICHIEL, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

On the first of the month the Constable's secretary, having been despatched from the conference by the Commissioners, returned to his Majesty, and from what the Queen told my secretary he came solely to announce the arrival at Beauvais on the morrow of the Constable, the Cardinal of Lorraine, and the Marshal de St. André; and when my secretary asked her Majesty if they were bringing the close of the negotiation, she said no, but that they were coming to report to the King the whole of the transaction, and its difficulties, and that they would then go back to resume the conference, the like having also been done by King Philip's commissioners, and that she hoped in God that He would interpose His hand, thus procuring some good result for Christendom. The Prince of Ferrara has confirmed this, with the following additional particular, that the day before his most Christian Majesty said, rather angrily, that King Philip's ministers remaining so firm in their proposals, it seemed to him as if they had perhaps inferred from the proceedings of his commissioners that he, King Henry, had too great a wish for peace; and that if sure of this inference he would show that he has no greater desire for it than such as is in accordance with the welfare of Christendom.

Through several other channels it has since been heard that there had remained at Cercamp, on behalf of King Philip, the Bishop of Arras, the President Viglius, and the Duchess of Lorraine; the Commissioners there for this side being the Bishop of Orleans and the Secretary Aubespine; both awaiting the return of their colleagues, who, at the suggestion of the Duke of Alva, formed this resolve to go in person, to give account to their princes of what they had negotiated, so that during this interval fresh orders may arrive concerning the will of Queen Mary.

Paris, 3rd November 1558.

[*Italian.*]

Nov. 5. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

1277. GIOVANNI MICHIEL, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

On the 2nd instant, at 3 p.m., the Constable, the Cardinal of Lorraine, and the Marshal de St. André, arrived at the Court [at Beauvais], and in Madame de Valentinois' chamber they found the most Christian King, who immediately taking the Constable by the hand (which he never loosed during the whole time they were together), led him first of all to pay his respects to the Queen,

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and then withdrew with him, transacting business for two consecutive hours, after which they again returned to converse with the Queen and Valentinois till the supper hour, when his Majesty chose the Constable to sup in his company; and that Montmorency might be nearer to him he had a bed prepared for his Excellency in the wardrobe adjoining his Majesty's chamber; continuing his favours to him, and the usual demonstrations of love, both in public and private, more than ever. *They already write from the Court about an open division between these chief ministers and their families, and that the factions have declared themselves openly.*

With regard to the move of the French commissioners from Cercamp to Beauvais, it is unanimously admitted to have taken place because, after the return to the conference of the Constable's secretary with the most Christian King's determination not to surrender Calais, the Cardinal of Lorraine having said that he was commissioned by his Majesty's ministers to return if King Phillip's ministers persisted, as they did, in their demand for that fortress, the Spanish commissioners replied that he might do as he said, because in no other way would their King make peace; so on that day the conference would have been completely dissolved had not the Duke of Alva said very courteously that they having been so long together, and having discussed the differences of these princes, they would be put to great shame and blame before the world were they to depart without any adjustment. Before taking such a step he thought it would be well for the Commissioners to return to their kings, and give them minute account of the state in which the negotiation was, and as the only remaining difficulty was about Calais, means might perhaps be found for an adjustment. This being commended by the Constable and all the others, they determined to act accordingly, telling the English that they likewise must return to their Queen, and inform her that the differences between these two princes were all accommodated, this one of Calais alone remaining, on account of which King Philip would not come to the final conclusion, so that the pacification of Christendom was in her hands. With this decision, therefore, the Commissioners on both sides went to their kings, to return again to the conference; so yesterday afternoon the French commissioners departed hence to be at the usual place of the abbacy on the 7th, whither on that day the Spanish commissioners will likewise return, although their English colleagues did not choose to go to England, lest going thus without any decision they might (they said) be abused (*esser mal trattati*) by their Queen, but they performed the office by letter. Aaccording to report they made an offer of being content if for the Queen's honour Calais were dismantled; to which the Cardinal of Lorraine replied it was better for them that it should remain in its present state, as by making a good peace they might thus trade more easily and safely in this kingdom. It is supposed that after one or two conferences the Commissioners will in like manner settle these difficulties about Calais, there being now more hope of the desired end than ever, as the Constable's nephew, Cardinal Chastillon, and one of the secretaries of the Cardinal of Lorraine, besides other persons

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having spoken with them on the subject, they announced this as their firm intention. With regard to finding means for giving satisfaction to the English, it is said that the French are treating to give them so much a year on account of the expenses incurred for that fortress during their occupation of it, or else to pay them a certain sum of ready money at their option; but I believe this to be mere discourse and conjecture, and as yet no decision has been formed on the subject. *A trustworthy person, however, tells me that he this morning saw a letter written to Marshal Brissac in Piedmont in the name of one of his most Christian Majesty's chief secretaries,* purporting that King Philip has sent to tell the Queen of England that he sees no other way, nor did he know what else to do for the recovery of Calais, unless, he having nearly two thirds of his army still on foot, she on her part should for her own service send a sufficient number of soldiers to try and attempt it by force, to which effect he also offers to retain his troops for another month. This is interpreted as having been said to deprive the Queen adroitly of any hope, it being very intelligible that at present neither she nor her husband have means or time to besiege a fortress and castle so well provisioned and secured as Calais is, so that nothing more can be done than to yield to necessity, and in the meanwhile not to prevent an agreement and universal peace on account of that place, when all the other differences and disagreements have been adjusted, so much to the satisfaction of the parties. As respecting the state of Milan, I understand it has been stipulated that the second born son of his most Christian Majesty's daughter, by the son of the King Catholic, is to be free and absolute Duke of Milan, and should only one son be born to them, or if after birth they were to die, in that case each of the parties resumes the right and claims which they now have on the said State; nor will the King of France allow the cession of his rights to extend to the eldest son born of this marriage, still less to the daughters.

I have also heard the way in which the affairs of the Duke of Savoy are adjusted, thus: his most Christian Majesty is content not only to restore Savoy and La Bresse to him, but Piedmont likewise, merely retaining ten fortresses to be selected by himself; the Duke's jurisdiction over all the rest to be as free as that of his father was in virtue of his marriage with Madame Marguerite, she to have 300,000 crowns dower, and the rental for life of the estate now held by her in the Duchy of Berri; and to honour the Duke yet more, the King created him a member of the Council of Affairs, when he is in France, and on the birth of the Duke's first son, he purposes restoring the fortresses to him. This agreement seems so advantageous for the Duke that it would scarcely be credited were it not confirmed by many of the chief personages of the Court, not only to the infinite praise of his Majesty, but with admiration of his magnanimity and true christian compassion, he having divested himself of all personal regards and interests, thus willing to confer so great a benefit on Christendom as that of removing for a long period any cause of war.

Paris, 5th November 1558.

[*Italian.*]

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Nov. 12.
Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

1278. GIOVANNI MICHIEL, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

After the return of the Constable and the other two personages to Cercamp, his Majesty with the most Christian Queen, and the rest of the Court, went from Beauvais to St. Germain, where they arrived yesterday, with the intention of awaiting there the total conclusion or exclusion of the agreement, they having sent back the aforesaid lords with the firm determination not by any means to consent to the restitution either of Calais or Corsica. Although nothing farther was heard subsequently, greater signs were nevertheless seen from day to day, giving not only hope but certainty that the adjustment was already concluded, and that it implied peace and not truce. Orders were given for all the men-at-arms, after making the musters, to depart from the frontiers and return to their old garrisons; the companies of light horse also, who had been destined for Piedmont were recalled that they might be disbanded, and all the others likewise; leave being given to all who have the wish—either gentlemen or captains—to return home. So the proclamation of this peace was expected from hour to hour, it being not only believed but affirmed by all the great and chief personages of the Court who have come hither, and especially by the Prince of Ferrara, who is here for the cure of his diseased leg. But today on the sudden and quite unexpectedly, on the return from the conference of the Bishop of Limoges, the brother of Secretary Aubespine, whom the Commissioners sent back in haste, it is heard not only that the difficulties have not been removed, but that they are increased by King Philip's commissioners, who, on their return to this second conference again insisted on the restitution of Calais, adding that of Corsica and Tuscany, to which they had never alluded until now; and they also moved a difficulty about the fortresses to be retained in Piedmont by his most Christian Majesty, urging the entire restitution to the Duke of Savoy. All this confirms what was told me, on the authority of the Cardinal of Lorraine, by the Prince of Ferrara's secretary, who was kept by his Excellency at Cercamp for his own personal interests,* to complete the bargain about the towns of Tuscany, the decision being delayed until the conclusion or total exclusion of this treaty of peace, although the poor delegates from Sienna who are here do not fail advocating to their utmost the conservation of those few relics of liberty which have remained under the protection of France, for the sake of not passing into the hands of any other Prince, still less into those of the Duke of Florence, as must necessarily come to pass should the bargain be made. To return, however, to the peace, immediately on the return of the Bishop of Limoges the King convoked the members of the Privy Council, that they might decide with what answer he was to be sent back to the conference, and Giordano Orsini having lately arrived most opportunely from Corsica, and being now here, his Majesty immediately called him to

* Alfonso of Este, Prince of Ferrara, married Lucretia de' Medici, daughter of Duke Cosmo.

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St. Germain to have his opinion likewise about the affairs of that island. It will soon be known what decision was announced by the Bishop to the conference.

Paris, 12th November 1558.

[*Italian.*]

Nov. 12. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

1279. MICHIEL SURIAN, Venetian Ambassador with King Philip, to the DOGE and SENATE.

I arrived here on the 8th. Two days ago his Majesty, having left Arras when I did, reached the abbacy,* two leagues hence. where he will remain in retirement until preparation be made for the obsequies of his father, which will be followed by those of Queen Maria, who, according to several advices, died eight days after her brother the Emperor, precisely at the time when she was expected to come to Flanders as Regent.

There are also advices from England that the Queen is not well, and the ambassador from Florence has said to me and many others that she is at the point of death, as known throughout the Court, much to the regret of these lords, who for their own reasons (rispetti) *would not wish it to be known that she was even indisposed, but the truth is that her malady is evidently incurable, and will end with her life* (et con quella finirà la sua vita) *sooner or later, according to the increase or decrease of her mental anxieties, which harass her more than the disease, however dangerous it may be. The King has therefore sent to England the Count de Feria, who, being a most perfect gentleman* (gentilissimo cavalier), *and agreeable to his Majesty, is also in great favour with the Queen, he likewise fancying himself popular there; but may God grant (in case of her Majesty's death) that he do not experience to his detriment the perverse nature of those people, and their most inveterate* (ostinatissimo) *detestation of foreigners, and above all of Spaniards. He took with him a Portuguese physician*† *who has a very great name in these parts, so as not to fail in whatever could conduce to the Queen's health. He will at any rate attempt to carry into effect the design, about which I wrote on the 29th ultimo, for marrying "Miladi" Elizabeth to some personage in the King's confidence, in which he hopes to succeed, but I have not yet been able to hear who will be proposed. She herself inclines towards a Scottish lord, her kinsman, a handsome and noble youth, son of a sister of Henry VIII., who was married in Scotland; he being of the same mind as this lady in the matter of religion; so were the crown to pass into her hands with that husband, it might be well nigh surely prognosticated that the country will relapse into its former state and worse, unless the Lord God, of His mercy, interpose His hand.*

Brussels, 12th November 1558.

[*Italian, partly in cipher; the portion in italics deciphered by Signor Luigi Pasini.*]

* The abbacy here alluded to was that of Gruniendal. (*See* "Foreign Calendar," 1558–1559. p. 9; date 21 Nov. 1558.)

† Lodovicus Nonnius. (*See* "Domestic Calendar," 1547–1580, p. 115; entry No. 11.)

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Nov. 13. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

1280. MICHIEL SURIAN, Venetian Ambassador with King Philip, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The night before last the Duke of Savoy arrived, and yesterday he went to his Majesty at the abbacy to condole with him on the Emperor's demise, so as yet I have been unable to confer with his Excellency, *but the Duke of Alva and the Prince of Orange went back to the site of the colloquy* [*Cercamp*], *and were expecting the reply from England, to enable them to form some decision. The day before our departure from Arras, all three of the English ambassadors together* had a long audience of the King, and I have heard that his Majesty determined that if it does not suit that kingdom to make peace without the restitution of Calais, they must deliberate about waging a brisk war next year, and carrying it on with due vigour, as, if his Majesty be made sure of being assisted, he will break off the negotiation; but if not certain to receive effective aid, he will make peace in the best way he can. This alternative will, I am told, make the English consent to peace, rather than continue the war.*

His Majesty's army is not yet disbanded, but pecuniary supply for its payment has been obtained from Antwerp, under promise of the Genoese, who will get from Spain the money disbursed by them here, at such rate of interest as agreed to heretofore. The greater part of the German Blacksmiths (*Ferraroli*) and infantry is disbanded, but some of them are retained, together with the native cavalry and infantry, that they may garrison the frontiers, where there is the greatest need of them. So for this winter, whether the peace be made or not, there is no expectation of any stir of arms in these parts, and the like will be the case in Piedmont also.

Brussels, 13th November 1558.

[*Italian.*]

Nov. 15. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

1281. GIOVANNI MICHIEL, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

Since the return of the Bishop of Limoges to the conference the result of his message is unknown, though all persons think it improbable that the King will in any way alter his first conditions, *which are moreover openly blamed by many persons, and more especially by the favourers and dependents of the Guise family, as dishonourable; but I am nevertheless told on the best authority, that the Constable having lately written an autograph letter to his Majesty, and another, in accordance with it, to the Duchess of Valentinois, knowing what her influence can effect with the King, and above all at present, when there is an open rupture and enmity between her and the Cardinal of Lorraine, she being so united with the Constable that they are one and the same thing, the Duke de Guise is therefore much afraid lest the King's intense desire for the agreement, he being thus persuaded by the Duchess, and also by the*

* The Earl of Arundel, Bishop of Ely, and Dr. Wotton. (*See* Foreign Calendar, "Mary," p. 405.)

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Constable, on the two occasions when he came hither, will cause his Majesty at any rate to accept the conditions of King Philip. On this account Guise is much grieved, and so dejected that he has not the heart to perform any sort of office to the contrary, in demonstration of the great shame to which (in his opinion) such an agreement would put his Majesty, and, besides the infinite and universal discontent of this entire kingdom, the hatred to which it would likewise subject him. His brother-in-law, however, the Prince of Ferrara, to whom for his own designs and personal interests the peace is very distasteful, encouraged him by saying that his position with the King would expose him not only to blame and reproof but also to punishment, were he on such an occasion to fail telling the King his mind freely about whatever he deems for his service, or detrimental to his honour, and dissatisfactory to his subjects, regardless of any sort of disfavour; and that should Guise not choose or not dare to do this, on receiving his permission, he the Prince, although indisposed, will go to the Court in person in his stead, considering himself the King's servant, and interested in the grandeur and repute of this crown, whose fortunes he shares;* and the result will soon be known, as this affair cannot be long delayed. *The same authority told me that the Duke de Némours showed him an autograph letter from the Duke of Savoy, telling him he was content that the most Christian King should restore his own to him, retaining four or five fortresses in Piedmont at his option. Concerning Calais and the English, he told me* also that when the Commissioners departed hence this second time they went with the intention, and it may be said determined, to agree to a five years' truce with the kingdom of England, should the Queen refuse to be a party to the general peace; Calais, in the meanwhile, remaining in the power of France, as it is at present. *All which things be your Serenity pleased to have kept with such secrecy as they deserve on account of the persons mentioned.*

The Florentine outlaws here, to effect the restitution of their liberty, sent to the conference one of the sons of the late Luigi Alamanni,† with letters of favour from the King and Queen Catherine de' Medici, to lay before the Commissoners the promises made to them by the Emperor on their surrender, to preserve that Republic without the slightest alteration of its form; demonstrating the great wrong done them 28 years ago, under this promise, and insisting on being restored, and that they likewise should return to their usual rule as heretofore: an office of charity towards their country, and indicating natural love of liberty, rather than from thinking that it can bear any fruit, although they trust greatly in the goodness and commiseration of King Henry and Queen Catherine, and of their ministers.

Paris, 15th November 1558.

[*Italian.*]

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* *Le due volte che è stato qui.* Qu. when he went to Beauvais?

† Alamanni, the Florentine poet and diplomatist, died at Amboise, 18th April 1558.

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Nov. 16. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

1282. GIOVANNI MICHIEL, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE in SENATE.

I have now heard from a person of the Court who is constantly with his Majesty that there is no longer any doubt of the peace, the King saying that he wills it at any rate, and that in this matter he will not take counsel from any one. This is confirmed by all the attendants of the Prince of Ferrara, and by his Excellency himself, after the return from the Court of his secretary, who repeated what had been told him by the Duke de Guise. Some of the effects of this determination already begin to be seen, as there passed through this city, postwise, on his way to Spain, the Marquis de Cortes, *alias* Don Juan de Benavides, one of King Philip's chief lords in waiting, who had great honour done to him, being lodged at the King's cost, and receiving, when at the Court, great favours from both their Majesties; and when he asked for the measure of the height of Madame Isabella, their daughter, to take it to Spain to the Prince [Don Carlos] her destined husband, the Queen had it taken with a gold chain of suitable thickness, which she then gave to Don Juanello, a favourite jester (*buffone*) of King Philip's, now on his way to Spain with the said Marquis, to which jester the King had shortly before given another chain worth upwards of 500 crowns.

Paris, 16th November 1558.

[*Italian.*]

Nov. 24. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

1283. GIOVANNI MICHIEL, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

Have heard from a courier who arrived last night from the conference, despatched by the Cardinal of Lorraine, that by reason of the disputes about Calais his right reverend lordship had determined to take leave of the conference to return thither, leaving the negotiations not only imperfect, but broken off, and he was already on the eve of departure when the Duke of Alva and the Duchess of Lorraine prayed him very earnestly at least to remain until the return from England of one of the two English commissioners who were at the conference, and were despatched about these affairs of Calais; and during this interval, to remove any doubt or impediment which might have arisen, the Duke of Alva promised to go to his King and return to the conference. With this the Cardinal of Lorraine contented himself, and promised to remain at Cercamp during the whole of the present month, during which period the Constable, being slightly indisposed, withdrew to Doulens to rest himself, and be more at his ease than he was in the Abbacy. So until the return of the agent from England (*dell' homo d'Inghilterra*) it does not seem that the Commissioners will reassemble, nor for six or eight days is any other event expected, though the Constable's adherents continue more and more to assert that the news will be good and terminate well; whilst the Guise faction, on the contrary, represent it as more doubtful than ever, especially in case of the death (which is feared) of the Queen of England, she being in such a state as to be unable to live till Christmas.

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Concerning this disagreement I have heard on good authority that the Duke de Guise, suspecting that on the Constable's return, the King, to gratify him, will consent to his renunciation of the charge of Grand Master and Constable, of which first office M. de Guise had the promise from his Majesty, therefore, to make sure of its performance, has warned the King plainly that he insists on the observance of the promise made to him, as should his Majesty do otherwise, and think of compensating him with some state or sum of money it will not satisfy him, as by such ways other men may be contented, but not he, for should he not have the charge of Grand Master, which he prefers more than any other rank and recompense, he is determined to quit the Court and return to his own home, to live with his family in the closest privity, making a semi-protest that he should abandon the King's service; and he spoke so haughtily on this subject as greatly to embarrass his Majesty. Although the King's reply is not yet known, the rivalry of these two ministers is already on the verge of enmity and open hatred, and has passed the bounds of emulation, with no slight danger of some strange accidents occurring between them to the detriment of this kingdom.

Poissy, 24th November 1558.

[*Italian.*]

Nov. 27. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

1284. MICHIEL SURIAN, Venetian Ambassador with King Philip, to the DOGE and SENATE.

With regard to the negotiation for peace, the Conference was on the point of dissolution without any settlement, as the French seemed to make greater difficulties than ever about all the conditions; for although at first they were content to restore Savoy and Piedmont, keeping for themselves only Turin and three other fortresses, they subsequently alleged with regard to the places they were to retain or to restore, that besides those aforesaid they insisted on having also Villanova di Asti, that place forming part of the country of Asti, which, belonging by right to the house of Orleans, is not comprised either in Piedmont or in Savoy, which are the Duke's own states, and to them alone can he pretend by right. It is as yet unknown what has been decided, but Don Ruy Gomez went back to the conference on Wednesday, and, unless it be on account of King Philip, he, for the sake of the Duke of Savoy, will not fail to accept any terms. The truth is that the French go raising these difficulties because it is advantageous for them, in addition to which they know that everyone on this side has always desired peace, and throughout the Court it has constantly been said that the King and all these Lords wish to go to Spain, where their presence is needed. The French also know that the recent affairs in Africa with the Moors and with the Turks trouble them greatly, no less than those of England; so when the French heard that the Queen was dead, or at the point of death, a fresh mode of proceeding commenced in the conference of these Lords, the French evincing greater harshness than usual about the terms, and a great wish to dissolve it, in which they would have succeeded had not the Spanish commissioners prolonged it for this cause. At the commencement of this present week the peace was

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despaired of, but since the return of Don Ruy Gomez to the Abbacy, and as the conference continues, there is still some hope of peace; but if concluded the universal belief is that it will prove more advantageous for the French than if it had been stipulated last month.

Brussels, 27th November 1558.

[*Italian, partly in cipher; the portion in italics deciphered by Signor Luigi Pasini.*]

Nov. 27. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives. (2nd letter.)

1285. MICHIEL SURIAN, Venetian Ambassador with King Philip, to the DOGE and SENATE.

Concerning the affairs of England, the advices of the Queen's death, although received through several channels, were untrue, yet it is well known that she cannot live, and she has received the extreme unction, and all the sacraments of Holy Church; and on the 13th of November, when she became so much worse, after the arrival of the Count de Feria, many personages of the kingdom (molti del Regno) *flocked to the house of "Miladi" Elizabeth, the crowd constantly increasing with great frequency. On this account, and owing to the Count's persuasions and those of her most intimate attendants* (et delli sui più intimi), *and from her own prudence, she was moved to send two gentlemen to that lady, to let her know that, as it had pleased the Lord God to end her days, she was content that she* (Elizabeth) *as her sister should become Queen, and prayed her to maintain the kingdom and the Catholic religion, in words replete with much affection; to which she sent a most gracious reply by two of her attendants, who visited the Queen in her name, condoling with her on her malady.*

In the meanwhile the English have purchased all the cloths of silk to be found at Antwerp, and they are preparing to appear with very great pomp at the coronation of the new Queen; and as some days have passed without any advices from England, the last letters of the Count de Feria being dated the 19th (sic), *it is believed that the English have placed guards at the passage ports, and do not allow any one to leave the kingdom.*

The Bishop dell' Aquila departed yesterday, being sent by the King to visit the Queen, who, according to the last advices, was not yet dead, but cannot live long. As to what the Count de Feria is negotiating with regard to the marriage of "Miladi" Elizabeth, I am unable to write anything authentic, but the whole Court is full* (è tutta piena) *of the King's intention to have her for himself, as written by me lately.*

Brussels, 27th November 1558.

[*Italian, partly in cipher; the portion in italics deciphered by Signor Luigi Pasini.*]

Nov. 27. St. Mark's Library, Cod. XXIV. Cl. X. ff. 197 b.—202.

1286. MONSIGNOR [ALVISE] PRIULI to his brother the most Noble MESSER ANTONIO [GIBERTI].

I wrote last week that the Queen's life was in danger, and also that of my right reverend Lord, since when it has pleased God so to increase the malady of both, that on the 17th instant, seven hours

* By name Alvaro (Alvarez?) de Quadra. (*See* Foreign Calendar, 1558, 1559, Index.)

1558. after midnight, the Queen passed from this life, and my right reverend Lord followed her at seven o'clock on the evening of the same day; and each departed with such piety as might have been expected from persons who had led such lives. During their illness they confessed themselves repeatedly, and communicated most devoutly, and two days before their end they each received extreme unction, after which it seemed as if they rallied and were much comforted, according to the fruit of that holy medicine. Although two days previously it had been intimated to his right reverend Lordship that there was scarcely any hope of the Queen's recovering from her infirmity, this being done in order that the news of her demise, coming less suddenly, might prove less grievous to him, nevertheless after the event it was thought well to delay its announcement until his Lordship should become more composed, though it could not have been long deferred; yet in contradiction to this understanding one of our countrymen forgetfully told it him (*si lasciò trascorrere a dirglielo*). On hearing it, after remaining silent for a short while, he then said to his intimate friend, the Bishop of St. Asaph, and to me, that in the whole course of his life nothing had ever yielded him greater pleasure and contentment than the contemplation of God's providence as displayed in his own person and in that of others, and that in the course of the Queen's life, and of his own, he had ever remarked a great conformity, as she, like himself, had been harassed during many years for one and the same cause, and afterwards, when it pleased God to raise her to the throne, he had greatly participated in all her other troubles entailed by that elevation.

He also alluded to their relationship, and to the great similarity of their dispositions (*gran conformità de animo*), and to the great confidence which her Majesty demonstrated in him, saying that besides the immense mischief which might result from her death, he could not but feel deep grief thereat, yet, by God's grace, that same faith and reliance on the Divine providence which had ever comforted him in all his adversities, greatly consoled him likewise in this so grievous a final catastrophe.

He uttered these words with such earnestness that it was evident they came from his very heart, and they even moved him to tears of consolation at perceiving how our Lord God, for such a wound received at such a moment, had granted a balm so valid and efficacious, and which might soothe not only himself but also all who loved him.

His right reverend Lordship then remained quiet and silent for about a quarter of an hour, but though his spirit was great, the blow nevertheless, having entered into his flesh, brought on the paroxysm earlier, and with more intense cold than he had hitherto experienced, so that he said he felt this would be his last. He therefore desired that there might be kept near him the book containing those prayers which are said for the dying. He then had vespers repeated as usual, and the complin, which part of the office yet remained for him to hear; and this was about two hours before sunset, he having on the very same morning heard mass also, as was his daily custom. In fine it was evident that as in health that sainted soul was ever

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turned to God, so likewise in this long and troublesome infirmity did it continue thus until his end, which he made so placidly that he seemed to sleep rather than to die, as did the Queen likewise, so that had not a physician perceived the act her Majesty would have died without any one's witnessing it (*S.M. moriva senza che alcuno se ne avedesse*).

My affection has moved me thus minutely to detail the end of this truly holy prelate and of this sainted Queen. It now remains for me to tell you of the will which his Lordship determined on making, as you will see by the enclosed copy;* premising to you that I urged him not to have any thought for me, that is to say, not to give me any other testimony of his affection than that of which I had ever felt most sure, or bestow anything on me beyond his conviction of my love and faith towards him, praying him to dispose of his property as he might deem most expedient for the execution of his wish and intention; but as his right reverend Lordship remained fixed in this resolve, I considered it my duty to acquiesce finally, and not decline this pious charge which it pleased him to confer on me. He insisted at all events on leaving me some considerable portion of his effects, to which I would by no means consent, alleging to his right reverend Lordship, and to others who spoke to me on the subject, the mere truth, which was, I doubted not, known to him namely, that I had not come to him or passed so many years with him for any sake of acquiring honours or worldly convenience; nay, that when his Lordship had no income, my mind was ever ready and made up, should he have experienced the want, as seemed probable, to give him not merely a part but even the whole of my property. On the other hand I so confided in his love for me that had I been in want I should have applied to him as to my own father. Since however our Lord God had not allowed him to need mine, or that I should require his, it would seem to me that I were injuring myself and others by accepting any part of this his property, which he knew ought to be all distributed for pious purposes, and amongst needy persons, since I, for my own part was aware, through God's grace, of having derived the greatest possible wealth from my intercourse with him, whilst through the Divine goodness my mind was entirely free from the wish for any increase of temporal riches beyond what I hold, and which I consider very sufficient for my modest maintenance in the state wherein I find myself. I even dared say that I did not see what he could leave of sufficient value to be worthy either of him or of me. But as he persisted in his proposition, I at length said and protested, that if, despite all these my entreaties, his right reverend Lordship insisted on specifying for me in his will some particular legacy, I was most determined on not accepting such at any rate, and that I should dispense the whole amongst these his poor relations and servants; but that I should be greatly distressed at being reduced to this necessity for causing persons to suspect that my renunciation was induced by pride and arrogance, and from an impression that the bequest was inferior to

* Not found.

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my deserts, or else I should be accused of vanity for performing so extraordinary an act. With regard to his giving a proof to others of his affection for me, I said that in addition to those so great and manifold which he had afforded at all times, this additional demonstration of freely confiding to me all his property ought to suffice. At length his Lordship yielded, and made his will in the form which your Magnificence may see.

Having subsequently* risen from my bed, I with all earnestness made another request to his Lordship, namely, that he would make me understand as distinctly as possible his wishes concerning the distribution of his effects in the hearing of his old familiar friends, the Bishop of St. Asaph and the Dean of Worcester, and that of Messer Enrico [Henry Penning], and Giovanni Francesco [Stella], our countryman. Thus all these particulars were settled in the lifetime of his Lordship, a list of them being made in the handwriting of Messer Enrico, on the completion of which document I wished to have it signed by his right reverend Lordship; but from lack of time, and from the inconvenience of his malady, as from other impediments, it was impossible fully to understand all his wishes ere the last day of his life, or to finish the list in time owing to the fit of the last paroxysm, which came on before its usual time, and was so violent that it became impossible for him to sign this or any other papers. My aim in this was, in any need, to make it known that I had acted sincerely, and in no wise departed from his express will. After his death, by the advice of the persons above named, it was thought well and resolved not to communicate these particulars to anyone until after the expenses of the obsequies and sepulture and other matters of very great importance had been defrayed, the amount of which could not be well ascertained. Not knowing this, it could not be fully determined whether the funds would fully suffice for the execution of what I had understood in detail concerning the will of his Lordship, who, both in the testament itself, and by word of mouth, gave me full authority to alter his said bequests, as might seem most fitting to me. I thought, therefore, that in the event of any necessity for their alteration, by making such in the same sense or proportionally, as might seem best, none of the legatees could have cause for murmur or complaint against me, although no harm could consequently result to me thence, since the will guaranteed me abundantly; moreover, I considered that by these means I could keep the members of the household better to their duty through their hopes of being better treated according to their good and faithful service during the forty days that they remain at board, etc.

Immediately on the Cardinal's death it was deemed well not to delay intimating it to the new Queen, recommending this household to her, and supplicating for her favour and protection in the execution of the defunct's will. Our messenger applied first to the Chancellor, but being unable to speak with him he went forthwith to her Majesty, who, without making any other reply, referred him to the members of her Council, and they, having consulted together, inti-

* After the 4th October?

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mated that her Majesty would send hither immediately, as she did, the Earl of Rutland, who was also accompanied by two other gentlemen in great favour with the Queen. The Earl, having come to me, said that her Majesty had sent him to hear every particular in detail, for no other purpose than to aid the execution of the Cardinal's will, which will he chose to see, and also to have a copy of it. I thereupon, in order to demonstrate to him my sincerity and good faith, narrated all details about his right reverend Lordship's will, and concerning myself. Then this Earl insisted on seeing the paper containing the particulars, and when I told him my reasons for not divulging it, requesting his Lordship to be, therefore, satisfied with my reading it to him alone, he nevertheless chose it to be heard by the other two gentlemen likewise; he also insisted on having a copy, signed in my hand, that he might send it to her Majesty, promising secrecy.

They then proceeded yet farther, asking me and Messer Enrico of what amount and nature was the property left by the Cardinal, and this we specified with all sincerity, distinguishing between what was out of the kingdom, namely, at Venice, in Rome, and in Spain, and what was here, good part of which had been brought from Italy, namely, the greater part of the plate, and other things besides. I also mentioned my conclusion that the property here (namely, all the plate and the residue of the revenues of the Archbishopric levied last Michaelmas, together with the additional 4,000 ducats which the Queen had granted him for his own life, and to bequeath for one year after death, as also that part of the pension on the Bishopric of Winchester yet due) would not suffice for payment of the debts and expenses incurred since Michaelmas, and for other necessaries, including the Cardinal's obsequies and interment. The Earl of Rutland at length appeared well informed and satisfied on every point, and, as he had already frequently said, again told me not to entertain any doubt but that the Queen's disposition was excellent, and that her Majesty would have every honourable regard for me individually, and for all other foreigners, and that she would render all favour and assistance for the execution of the Cardinal's will. To this I ever replied that I could have no other belief, and I also freely told him that I was aware that her Majesty would receive the same reports as already prevailed, not only amongst the vulgar, but even in the breast of persons of condition, how that there were in the Cardinal's hands hundreds of thousands of crowns (*centenera de migliara de scudi*) on account of the property which the deceased Queen had restored to the Church, which remission being approved by the Parliament, its disposal was entrusted to his right reverend Lordship, the amount hitherto recovered not exceeding 30,000 crowns, as they saw and ascertained through the elucidation of Messer Enrico, who had received and dispensed the sums as ordered. I also added that I knew how another report had moreover been circulated of the Cardinal's great treasures derived from another source, and therefore I was not surprised at her Majesty's being thereby induced to ascertain the truth of these assertions, most especially since she had not hitherto enjoyed any opportunity of obtaining particular knowledge of the sincerity and purity of this

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personage's mind; to which remark the Earl made me no reply, save by repeating that I was to rest perfectly assured. I also deemed it expedient to write a letter to her Majesty, the copy of which is enclosed,* and it was approved by Lord Rutland, who sent it by one of his attendant gentlemen, together with the other papers and informations which they found. I await her Majesty's reply and resolution hourly, and will afterwards intimate it to your Magnificence.

In the midst of so many troubles, and a matter most disagreeable in its nature on many accounts, I find myself, by God's grace, in a frame of mind more vigorous than usual and very tranquil, experiencing thus how much it imports to have a just and good cause, and to treat it guilelessly and with sincerity, and without any interested private motive, for all these matters have indeed rather lessened than augmented my quartan ague, which yet clings to me. As a proof of this on that morning when the Earl came hither I was expecting my paroxysm in the evening, and had it, but much more lightly and of briefer duration than my former attacks, and afterwards I slept for eight hours consecutively without ever waking; the like of which I do not remember having happened to me for a very long while. Today, which is again the day of my quartan, I feel stronger than ever; for all which praised and thanked be God's infinite goodness.

I wrote thus far on the 21st, since when no messenger has been despatched hence. On the following day the before-mentioned Earl said that he had received an answer from her Majesty, who was very well satisfied with my letter; and he again said that I might be of good cheer and without any anxiety, whereupon I rejoined to his Lordship that by God's grace so I was. And besides the proof of my better health since his Lordship's visit, another cause for satisfaction was that besides the former councillors, who were all friends of the late Cardinal Pole, and are now confirmed in office by her Majesty, she has also appointed some new members from whose courtesy I can expect all due favour, and particularly from the Earl of Bedford, who is known and loved by all as a courteous nobleman, and from having been in Italy he evinces great affection for all our nation. To me he has frequently made great offers showing himself grateful for a signal service which your Magnificence rendered him when he was in Venice; nevertheless it never occurred to me to have recourse to his Lordship or to anyone else for her Majesty's favour, not considering it necessary. The two gentlemen above alluded to have been backwards and forwards repeatedly, ever bearing the best possible words from the Queen, but in the end I hope through the Earl of Bedford (whose courtesy induced him to come to me today, not permitting my paying him a visit as I had intimated to him was my intention) we shall shortly be enabled to perform the obsequies for the Cardinal's good memory, and commence executing his other orders and legacies. The details I will

* Not found, but it is apparently alluded to in Domestic Calendar, p. 115, entry No. 10, where see the words "*Priuh's requests.*"

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communicate on another occasion, nor shall I now tell you of public affairs, having written thus at length of private matters, knowing that the prudence of your Magnificence will not communicate them, save in such quarters as you may deem opportune. Concerning State affairs, I will merely say they have passed and continue their course most quietly, her Majesty having professed and professing her intention of not choosing in any way to change the matters of religion, and to be bent on keeping these her subjects united and well satisfied, which may our Lord God give her grace to do for His Divine Majesty's service, and for the salvation of this kingdom.

They will commence (*si cominciaranno*) by performing the obsequies of the late Queen on the*——, after which her present Majesty will come from the Tower (whither it is said she will go tomorrow) to her palace here at hand; whence she will pass to Greenwich for the Christmas holidays, and afterwards be crowned.

I send to your Magnificence a copy of the will, with the additions which you will see, and I wish you to inform me as speedily as possible whether this mere copy will suffice to render my order valid for drawing out of the Mint (*Zecchà*) part or the whole of such moneys as are there, or any others that may be in Venice, belonging to the Cardinal's good memory. I still continue better of my quartan by the grace of God, who gives me strength of mind and body according to my need, so I hope the like for the future also.

I exhort your Magnificence to receive all these things with that courage and good patience, which our Lord God has granted you in so many of your other troubles and adversities, and I much recommend myself to the prayers of her Excellency, my sister-in-law, the consort of your Magnificence, saluting all the family affectionately.

London, 27th November, 1558.

[*Italian.*]

[Nov. 27.] **1287.** MONSIGNOR ALVISE PRIULI to MESSER ANTONIO GIBERTI.

St. Mark's Library, Cod. XXIV. Cl. X. ff. 202–206. No date of time or place in MS.

I am sure that ere the receipt of this the news will have reached Rome of the deaths of the Queen and of the Cardinal, our master, and you will be the less surprised at not receiving letters from us on the subject, knowing under such circumstances how many events would arise to keep us all harassed and occupied. I wrote to you a few days previously how I was ill of my quartan, and that the health of the Queen was publicly considered hopeless, whilst that of his Lordship was in great danger on account of a certain defect and obstruction. Nor were the contents of this letter falsified, for both grew worse daily, so that the Queen passed away on the 17th instant, about seven hours after midnight, and the Cardinal at seven o'clock after noon of the same day, affording a resemblance both at the close of their illness as at its commencement. The similarity did not merely consist in these respects, for they also gave mutual and manifold signs of their piety, communi-

* Blank in MS. In Domestic Calendar, date 14th December 1558, it is stated that the interment of Queen Mary was solemnized at Westminster on that day.

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cating frequently with great devotion, and two days before their end they each received the sacrament of extreme unction, and by their amelioration on the following day proved that this holy medicine had operated not only on their souls, but also on their bodies. On the morning which followed that night wherein he received this holy sacrament, his Lordship communicated, and caused the mass of the most Holy Trinity to be celebrated, and on the next morning, which was his last, he listened to the mass of the angel, who, we may verily believe, accompanied that sainted soul to heaven, and indeed of this he gave some sign by his most tranquil and placid transit, which appeared a slumber. At the commencement of that day's paroxysm, which was his last, his right reverend Lordship, having heard of the Queen's death, said he felt this would be his last fit, and desired that there might be kept ready near him the book which contains the prayers for the dying, and they were repeated in the presence of many of his attendants, and of the Bishop of St. Asaph [Thomas Goldwell] and the Dean of Worcester, who remained here with us almost throughout his illness. The Queen also made her passage so tranquilly that had not a physician remarked it on its commencement, all the other persons present would have thought her better, and that she would fain sleep.

Some days before his death my right reverend Lord made his will, as you will see by the enclosed copy.* On hearing of its tenor, I myself, being then ill in bed, by means of our Messer Giovanni Francesco, entreated his Lordship earnestly, as more expedient for his will's execution, to appoint another or others as executors, or that he would at least specify distinctly in the testament the precise distribution of his property; begging his Lordship not to do me this honour by giving such a proof of his trust in me, since I neither wished nor sought for such, being convinced of the fact; however he would not alter his resolve, and Messer Gio. Francesco was of opinion that I ought not to persist in my refusal, but consent to his right reverend Lordship's pleasure. Added to this, I had another dispute with his Lordship, who insisted at any rate on leaving me some considerable part of his property, to which I would not consent, not having by God's grace either want or wish for the increase of my paternal inheritance, which I find very sufficient for my maintenance in the state in which I am. I even told him that whatever I might have accepted would have seemed to me so much snatched from his relations under age (*pupilli-parenti*), from his poor servants, and from other alms and pious purposes, to which it was his intention that this property should be devoted. Finally, his Lordship contented me by specifying what is stated in the will; but I protested at the time and since, and am determined on not taking anything but a few trifles as a mere memorial. Afterwards, on rising from my bed, when I could myself speak to his Lordship, I urged him earnestly to satisfy me by ietimating to me most distinctly his wishes concerning the distribution of his property, and not only to me, but also to my Lord of

* Not found.

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St. Asaph, to the Dean of Worcester, and to Messer Enrico [Henry Penning], and Messer Giovanni Francesco, our countryman; and thus, by questioning his right reverend Lordship very closely, sometimes Messer Enrico and sometimes I myself, the whole was at length written in Messer Enrico's own hand with the knowledge of the others before named. I also wished and requested him to sign this list in his own hand, but from divers impediments having been unable to terminate this writing until the day of his death, this my desire could not be gratified, neither could his Lordship sign certain other papers as was requisite, because the paroxysm came on earlier than usual. I was anxious for these distinct declarations both for my own satisfaction, that I might depart as little as possible from his right reverend Lordship's express will, and also to enable me to exculpate myself with those who might complain of having received less than they expected, by manifesting openly that everything was done by his Lordship's express will, although, as was necessary, both by word of mouth, and by the testament itself, he allowed me to alter his intentions according as I might see necessary from the amount of his property, which neither then nor now can yet be correctly estimated; nor did I seek this elucidation from his right reverend Lordship on any other account, since I was too well secured against any trouble by the manner in which the will was worded.

This form of proceeding has also marvellously served to remove certain suspicions that his Lordship had left great treasures, not only on account of the ecclesiastical property ceded by the Queen, which Parliament had placed at his disposal, for it was said that vast amounts had consequently been paid to him, but also on other accounts. The former suspicion concerning the Church property, which was disseminated long before he fell ill, rested on the following facts: the Queen gave up 10,000*l.* and other property, amounting in all to 40,000 ducats annually; and without further research or inquiry it has been hence said, that in two years and a half, which is the term that has elapsed since this concession, the Cardinal received 100,000*l.*, which form 300,000 chamber crowns (*scudi di camera*). This calculation and these various suspicions were easily elucidated by shewing that when the Queen ceded this property to the clergy, it was so encumbered with pensions, assigned for the lives of several persons, that the said sum did not even suffice for its payment, but left a deficit exceeding 8,000 ducats. However, some of the pensioners died off, and thus in this period it was contrived to levy from the said property 8,000*l.*, which was disbursed by the bishops, who collected this amount in their diocese. Besides their testimony, my Lord of York [Nicholas Heath] and the Bishop of Ely [Thomas Thirlby], and some others his friends, knew that there had reached the hands of Cardinal Pole, or rather those of his Messer Enrico, who managed all the moneys, only the said 8,000*l.*, which for these wants of the war were given to the Queen, who in compensation made over to the bishops the presentations to many rectories in her gift, which they considered of much greater value than this amount, the

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receipts for which Messer Enrico has also exhibited, as likewise other writings, and the clearest attestations, with her Majesty's authentic seals.

With regard to the other suspicions concerning the treasures accumulated by his Lordship through other channels, though his disbursements are not specified, it nevertheless ought to be manifest to all how from the Legation he not only failed to receive any profit, but on the contrary incurred the expense of many ministers to whom he had to give board and stipend, whilst from the Queen he never asked or received anything, either for himself, or for any friend, or relation, or servant, save those 1,100*l.* which her Majesty offered him spontaneously before he had the archbishopric, and afterwards granted him for his life, with power to dispose for the term of one year after his own demise of certain property which had heretofore depended on the See of Winchester. It might be clearly proved that besides these revenues and those of the archbishopric his Lordship had never received any others from the Crown, excepting in the first year of his arrival in England, when he got 3,000*l.* It can be further demonstrated how in that year he expended upwards of 20,000 ducats, and in the following years he not only expended all the rentals which he drew hence, but also all those which he derived from Spain and Italy. For the very evident proof of all these facts it has greatly served that I was enabled to show this precise note of his right reverend Lordship's will concerning the distribution of his effects, and to compare its amount with the estimate made of his property, both abroad, in Venice, and in Spain, as also with the plate brought from Italy, and other purchased here and presented to him, as is the custom here on the first day of the year by the Queen (she having first received an equivalent), together with other chattels and rents (*et di altri mobili et entrate*) on the aforesaid accounts, part being already levied, whilst part remain due; and it is well that what I have before said should be so clear. The suspicions nevertheless had so increased that we were half prevented from commencing the execution of the defunct's will, although the Queen's Majesty ever forwarded most excellent messages, intimating the goodness of her intentions and dispositions, by the persons whom she sent and kept here.

By God's grace we have at length come to the end, and can now attend to the sale of the plate and other saleable property, as also to the obsequies and sepulture of his right reverend Lordship; and with her Majesty's goodwill the body will be moved towards Canterbury within a few days, although at the same time there have to be performed here the obsequies of the deceased Queen. Notwithstanding this the Bishop of Worcester and the Bishop of St. Asaph have received the present Queen's good leave to accompany his right reverend Lordship's corpse, and attend his obsequies, her Majesty having heard of their long intimacy with him in Italy, and appearing to take well the gratitude and sorrow of these two prelates on this occasion.

In all these great and varied troubles I, by God's grace, have felt myself very strong, both in mind and body, trusting principally in

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the truth and piety of my cause, and in that sincerity wherewith His divine bounty has endowed me for its execution and treatment, devoid of the slightest personal interest. I have yet my quartan, but it is very slight and bearable, and I feel that in His goodness our Lord God gives me sufficient aid for all this need, and I trust He will continue deigning so to do until its termination. It was necessary to communicate with the Queen the details of the late right reverend Cardinal's legacies; but of his own household none save myself and the four persons above named are yet acquainted therewith through us. This reserve was deemed advisable, because the amount of his Lordship's property cannot be told until the expenses of his obsequies and interment, and other important and necessary household costs, shall have been defrayed. Hence a necessity may very possibly result for altering and diminishing all or great part of the private legacies, in which case it would not have been fitting that the persons affected thereby should have heard what was originally intended for them. His Lordship remembered us, as you shall hear at a future period. Communicate all this my letter to the Cardinal of Trani, as also the copy of the will, praying his Lordship to communicate what he shall think fit thereof to his Holiness and to others.

Concerning public affairs I will merely tell you generally that the Queen, even before her sister's death, had evinced (*ha mostrato*) her intention of not making any further change in the affairs of the religion; so the second day after she was proclaimed she published an edict announcing that she did not intend changing anything which had been ordained and established by the Queen her sister during her reign, desiring that all should conform to this her will. Thus no change is to be seen in the churches, nor has any outrage been offered either to the priests or friars who frequent London, and her Majesty has continued as previously to hear mass, and to have it heard every day by her whole household. She immediately confirmed in their posts some of her sister's councillors, and appointed other new ones, giving also divers principal offices of her household to her chief favourites. The Archbishop of York was the first person confirmed in his office of councillor, and the intention was intimated to him of also confirming him in his post of Chancellor, which has since lacked effect. Moreover it seems to be supposed universally that the Dean of Canterbury, the learned Wotton who was ambassador in France, and is now in Flanders for the treaty of peace, will be very much favoured, and that with the archbishopric of Canterbury he will also receive the office of Lord Chancellor.

May the Lord God of His infinite mercy grant that this kingdom may ever persevere in its union and obedience to the Church, for the honour and service of His Holy Majesty, for its own salvation, and to the consolation of all good and pious persons, both here and throughout the rest of Christendom. Since the demise of Cardinal Pole the Bishop of Rochester * has also died, so there will be seven

* Maurice Griffin, Bishop of Rochester, died 20th Nov. 1558.

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churches requiring appointments, and the Bishop of Durham and other bishops besides are so infirm and aged that it can scarcely be credited they will be long for this life.

A few days before the death of the Cardinal his brother Sir Geoffrey Pole died, Father Soto being in his house, and *de præsente illo*, according to his paternity's report, he made a very pious and catholic end; after which Father Soto also became very dangerously ill, so when his Lordship heard of it he sent to visit him by Messer Leslie (*M. Leslio*),* who was likewise the bearer of pecuniary assistance, Father Soto being *in domo nedum tenui, sed etiam paupere.* Sir Geoffrey has left five sons, the eldest of whom according to the laws here will inherit that small property which scarcely sufficed to maintain in poverty the whole family, including four maiden daughters, one of whom is already with the nuns of Sion, and determined on taking the vows and living with them entirely. He also leaves two other married daughters, burdened with families, whose husbands are very poor, and these are those poor relations to whom his right reverend Lordship desired that part of his property should be distributed. You must know that during his lifetime, both in Italy and here, the Cardinal never failed to succour them as paupers, though he never asked or received anything from the Queen either for them or for anyone else, either friend or relation, or dependent on him in any manner. Nor can I omit telling you of two examples of this nobleman's [the Cardinal's] sincerity: one is, that being entreated very earnestly by the husband of his only sister.† (who is also much burdened with a family, though not in such want as the brother was), merely to notify by letter to a very wealthy widow that should she wed one of these his nephews, as she seemed inclined to do, she would thereby please his right reverend Lordship, he declined to be thus persuaded by his brother-in-law, most especially because he had not a very high opinion of the young man (*del giovane*). The other instance is this: a very wealthy gentleman having notified his intention of marrying one of his brother's daughters without any dower, but for the purpose, so far as could be seen, of being favoured and assisted by the Cardinal in a very important lawsuit, his right reverend Lordship gave him to understand that in his suit he could have justice and nothing else; so the intended marriage was broken off. *Non satis intelligimus non esse in tempore.*

[*Italian.*]

Nov. 28. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

1288. GIOVANNI MICHIEL, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

When in hourly expectation of hearing of some decision about the affairs of Calais through the return of the agent (*di quello*) who was expected from England, so as once for all to close this negotiation, and no longer to keep the whole of Christendom in

* Probably the same person as "Lilio" mentioned in Venetian Calendar, V. 173; and see Epistolæ Poli, V. 322.

† Ursula Pole married Henry, Lord Stafford.

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suspense, his Majesty was advised, by an express from Cercamp, of the death of the Queen of England, which according to some persons took place so long ago as the 27th ult., since when it was concealed by allowing no one to leave the island; but according to others (perhaps more probably) she died on the 18th instant; "Miladi" Elizabeth having been published and proclaimed Queen on condition that everybody might live in their own fashion with regard to religion, and as to her marriage that she may not marry out of the kingdom, with such other particulars as your Serenity through other channels will have heard long ago, together with the dangerous illness of the Right Reverend Cardinal Pole. On account of this demise it seems that King Philip's ministers, in order not completely to break off the negotiations for peace, proposed and requested a two months' truce, so that the Commissioners on both sides might in the meanwhile withdraw to their Princes, and see during this interval what may be determined about peace or war by this new Queen. The truce was immediately accepted by King Henry without any difficulty, he having forthwith sent his consent to the Commissioners, and urged the Cardinal to return with all speed, leaving the Constable and Marshal St. André to go back to Flanders, so that in the intervening period they may (if they have the means) release themselves by paying their ransoms. Although it was said that the price put upon the Constable and his son, M. de Montmorency, had been fixed at 140,000 crowns, and 50,000 for the Marshal, of this nevertheless there is no certainty, but it is certain that the Admiral's ransom has been agreed to for 50,000 crowns, and that of the Duke de Longueville for 90,000 and 4,000 for his expenses, half of which sums has been already paid, and the remainder is to be disbursed in six months, the said Duke having arrived at the Court today to the joy of everybody. The Cardinal of Lorraine is expected the day after tomorrow, his coming being the more desired in proportion to the great need of his counsel concerning the mode to be observed by the Queen-Dauphine, his niece, who, by the death of the Queen of England, claims the legitimate succession to her crown, as the true heir, and nearer than any other of that blood, she being the daughter of a son of Henry the Eighth's eldest daughter [sister], whereas the Queen lately proclaimed, although the daughter of said King Henry, yet being considered illegitimate, is consequently deemed incapable of succeeding to the crown. Secretary Robertet was sent to the site of the Conference not only to meet the Cardinal but to confer with the Constable and Marshal St. André, to have the opinion of all of them together about what he (Robertet) will have to do on crossing over to England, whither he seems to have been appointed to make for the present (*per hora*) the due protests, in the name of the aforesaid Queen Dauphine.

The joy caused to almost the whole Court and to a great part of the French nobility, besides the dependents of the Guises, by this recent occurrence in England is not to be told, it being supposed that it will not only impede but completely break up any pacific adjustment which had been expected to take place through the

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restoration of Corsica, Tuscany, and Piedmont, an arrangement considered by this kingdom to be not only detrimental, but so disgraceful, that it was said freely that worse terms could not have been made had the King been a prisoner. There is already a talk of provisions for the war, and a loan has been contracted for with certain German merchants, who, on having assigned to them 10 tithes from the clergy (*X decime del clero*) to be levied in three years at the rate of 3⅓rd annually, and having the consent of the bishops and the abbots, bind themselves to disburse the entire amount, which is calculated to exceed a million and a half of crowns.

Poissy, 28th November 1558.

[*Italian, partly in cipher; the portion in italics deciphered by Signor Luigi Pasini*].

Nov. 30. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

1289. MICHIEL SURIAN, Venetian Ambassador with King Philip, to the DOGE and SENATE.

Don Ruy Gomez has returned to the Conference, and after much debate the suspension of hostilities, as agreed to at Candlemas, was prolonged; *but the truth is that the conference is dissolved*, the Commissioners on either side being at liberty to go to their respective Kings, and they spread a report of a fresh conference to be held at Cercamp or in some other more convenient place.

The cause of this dissolution proceeded from the French, who raised difficulties about everything, most especially after they knew of the death of the Queen of England, which was but too true, she having died on the 17th, as the King's Confessor told my Secretary to-day; and on the morrow Cardinal Pole also died, having been wasted (*consumato*) by a slow fever, which had harassed him since many months.

Of the marriage of the new Queen I have heard nothing further, except that the Bishop dell' Aquila went, with King Philip's consent, to treat about giving her to the Archduke Ferdinand, the Emperor's son.

Brussels, 30th November 1558.

[*Italian, partly in cipher; the portions in italics deciphered by Signor Luigi Pasini.*]

Dec. 4. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

1290. GIOVANNI MICHIEL, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The day before yesterday, after congratulating the King on his return from the camp, and on his good health, he commenced talking with me confidentially as is his wont; and about the death of the Queen of England he told me that his Commissioners at the Conference heard of it before those of the King Catholic, who, when it was announced to them by the Constable and the Cardinal of Lorraine, either dissembled purposely (as is credible), or if really ignorant of the fact, they at any rate pretended to be so, admitting however that they had heard of her dangerous illness. Shortly after this they therefore determined to request the prorogation of

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the truce for two months. To this his most Christian Majesty said he had lately assented, and sent the Commission hence forthwith, so he thought that whilst talking to me thus it was already stipulated, and that the Commissioners had taken leave of each other, so that in a day or two he was expecting the Cardinal, with whom Marshal de St. André also would return, all King Philip's Commissioners at the Conference having given security for him; and they would also have done the like by the Constable had he chosen it, but his Majesty said that the Duke of Savoy having promised Montmorency to accord his ransom, whether the agreement took place or not, the Constable in virtue of that promise, hoping to free himself, and return home for good (*del tutto*) without farther surety, had preferred going back into the Low Countries without any other mediation, and making his own bargain there, to coming hither, which would have caused greater delay.

His Majesty then, continuing his discourse about the Queen's death, said that shortly before it took place he understood she had been visited in the name of the three estates of the kingdom, viz., the clergy, the lords, and the commons, who, after commending and thanking her for what she had done for their benefit, and principally by restoring the religion, inquired of her Majesty, whether in case the Lord God should dispose of her otherwise she was content that the will of her father respecting the succession of the kingdom should be executed; to which she having answered affirmatively, they then asked further whether it pleased her that for very good reason an attestation (*una fede*) of this should be taken, and a record made; to which also she said yes; so after her decease, with the universal consent and applause of the entire population, "Miladi" Elizabeth was proclaimed Queen, she, some days before her predecessor's death, having already come to London; and after the proclamation, she as usual took possession of the Tower, from whence being conducted to Westminster Palace, she had it proclaimed that in the matter of religion she left it to every one to live in their own fashion, but giving it immediately to be understood that with regard to herself she should by no means renounce that use (*quell' uso*) in which she had been born, instructed, and educated (*nel quale, da che ella nacque, era stata ammaestrata et allevata*), until she knew that there was some better one. His most Christian Majesty then commenced speaking about Cardinal Pole, who, he had heard, was very dangerously ill, from mental anxiety rather than from physical indisposition, and even should he recover, the King said he did not think he could continue to reside in England by reason of the slight goodwill borne him by the Queen, who attributed principally to him the recent burning of one of her chief and well beloved servants. After this topic his Majesty discoursed about who might now be the members of her Council and the rulers of England, saying that he believed Lord Grey, late governor of Guisnes, now a prisoner here, would be her favourite, owing to their absolute uniformity in religious opinion (*come conformissimo in religione*), as the moment he heard the news he evinced very great joy for the death of the other one (*della morte di quell' altra*); and the King said besides that he had

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sent for him to the Court, *the general opinion being that his Majesty means to make use of him by sending his Lordship over there.*

His Majesty in the next place began to discuss her marriage, saying that as yet she had promised not to take a foreign husband (*di non maritarsi fuor del Regno*), though on this promise no reliance could be placed, as the other one also did the like (*perchè anco quell' altra la fece*). Then talking with me about the native Englishmen adapted for that purpose (*che potessero esser atti per un effetto tale*), he said that very few, or in fact none, were found of condition to have such a dignity conferred on them (*di conditione da poter mettere in tal grado*); and from this the King proceeded to consider the reasons for and against her inclining to King Philip, *nor could he in conclusion conceal his great regret were such a marriage to take place, fearing lest such a compact* (tal conditione) *should prevent the conclusion of the peace unless Calais be restored.*

With regard to this topic of peace, when I told the King how intently and anxiously your Serenity awaited it, I having constantly written to you that it was supposed to be concluded, as I still opined more than ever, not believing that this fresh incident in England, though it might delay the peace, would however break off or in fact annul it; his Majesty replied that on his side it would really be so; *so unless the other side fail I am assured on good authority that the most Christian King will not only not change one whit* (punto) *of what was agreed to here, but should the terms stipulated be unsatisfactory* (moleste) *he will even give something more.*

Concerning these affairs of England his Majesty also gave me minute account of the claim of his daughter-in-law, the Queen Dauphine, saying that were right of any avail that kingdom ought doubtless to be hers; *but as he spoke to me very coldly on the subject, my belief in what had been told me previously by a person who has the means of knowing is confirmed, viz., that for the present not only will no act be attempted on account of the said claim, there being no other mode of enforcing it than by words and writings, but that on the contrary, to avoid raising greater difficulties and impediments to the peace, the King will dissemble as much as he can, at least until he has the means of making some effective demonstration. There is already no longer any talk of Secretary Robertet's mission to England, and indeed I am told that his Majesty will rather send thither privily, either by Lord Grey or by others, to let that Queen know that should she keep quiet about the affairs of Calais his Majesty likewise will be quiet about his daughter-in-law's interest in the succession; and that, provided she persist in her determination not to marry out of the kingdom, not only will he never molest or disturb her, but on the contrary will preserve and maintain her in security as mistress of her possession; and that he will also cause the Queen Dauphine to make a cession of her pretension to her in perpetuity. All these particulars being of such importance as they are it would be well for your Serenity to have them consigned to the secrecy they deserve.*

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M. de Guise, when talking with me about the peace, said that these affairs of England would perhaps yet more facilitate it; and concerning other topics he remarked, that last summer's comet had very well prognosticated (che molto bene haveva minacciato la cometa quest' estate) *the death of so many princes, as within two or three months the decease of the Emperor has been witnessed, besides that of three queens, as in addition to the demise of his Cæsarean Majesty's two sisters, Eleanor and Maria, who died in Spain one after the other, the Queen of England likewise has departed this life; and should the present Emperor likewise follow them, the Duke of Saxony who is here having reported him to be very ill, the deaths of the two sisters and the two brothers might be considered almost a prodigy, nor would there now remain any of the elders of that house*

Poissy, 4th December 1558.

[*Italian, partly in cipher; the portions in italics deciphered by Signor Luigi Pasini.*]

Dec. 5. St. Mark's Library, Cod. XXIV. Cl. X. 206 f.

1291. MONSIGNOR [ALVISE] PRIULI to DON JUAN DE VEGA Super-President of the Council.

On the 17th ultimo it pleased God to call unto Himself the right reverend Cardinal Pole, my master (*mio patrone*), after he had been ill for upwards of two months and a half, sometimes of one and sometimes of two quartan fevers (*hora con due hora con una quartana*), which, at his age, and with his weak constitution, sufficed to remove him from this life, which happened on the same day as the Queen also died, or to say better, *obdormivit in Domino;* for of this we may rest assured, by reason of their holy lives, as also by the many signs and manifest indications and proof of great piety afforded by them in this their last end.

When making his will the Cardinal appointed me his executor for the property left by him to some very poor orphans, his kinsfolk, and to servants, as also for other alms and pious purposes; so wishing to execute his behests I am intent on collecting all his Lordship's effects, left not only here but in Italy and in Spain, whither an authentic copy of the will has been sent to the late Cardinal's agent, with authority to continue in his post, and with an order that the money of his late right reverend Lordship remaining due on account of the pension payable to him in the hands of Luis de Castro at Burgos be remitted. As I know the affection which your Lordship bore that rare and truly holy prelate, and inasmuch as your Lordship has already aided the agent of his right reverend Lordship, I pray your Lordship to favour the said agent, so that all obstacle to his instantly remitting the moneys due to his right reverend Lordship in Spain may be removed.

London, 5th December 1558.

[*Italian.*]

Dec. 5. St. Mark's Library, Cod. XXIV. Cl. X., ff. 207, 208.

1292. MONSIGNOR ALVISE PRIULI to the ARCHBISHOP of TOLEDO,

I doubt not but that ere the receipt of this your right reverend Lordship will have heard of the grievous malady of the Queen, as also that of my right reverend Lord the Cardinal, and perhaps also of the deaths of both, as chanced on the 17th ultimo, the Queen

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dying a few hours before the Cardinal. Both, at their end, and throughout their suffering, gave so many and manifest signs and testimonies of their great piety, and passed away so quietly that it may be reasonably believed and said *quod ambo obdormierunt in Domino.*

The Queen was buried on the 14th instant here, in St. Peter's [Westminster], and the Cardinal was interred at Canterbury on the following day. It was remarkable that he became ill on the same day that the Queen sickened, and, as I said, they died on the same day.

It so happened that on the morning of its event his right reverend Lordship heard of her Majesty's demise through the inadvertency of one of our countrymen, whereupon, after having remained silent for some while, he said to the Bishop of St. Asaph and to me, that although in the midst of so many and great causes he had most grievously to lament this death, yet by God's grace he found a most efficacious remedy by turning to that haven of divine providence which throughout his existence had ever aided and consoled him under all public and private inflictions. These and other words on the same subject he uttered with such mental vigour and alacrity as to comfort us very greatly, so that from very tenderness I could not restrain my tears. Shortly after this the paroxysm came on with greater violence than usual, and he ordered that the book containing the prayers said *in transitu* might be kept ready. On that day his Lordship had heard the mass of the angel, and on the day before he had caused that of the most Holy Trinity to be celebrated; and on that day he also communicated, having received in the preceding night extreme unction, which, both in himself and in the Queen, gave clear proof of increasing spiritual vigour not less than corporal improvement. Nor will I omit mentioning another particular which moved me greatly, as I was its eyewitness: that when from the progress of the disease his Lordship was obliged to keep constantly in bed, yet wishing to communicate as he had already done frequently, he chose to hear mass, and to get out of bed at that part where he had to communicate, although unable to do so without very great inconvenience and fatigue; and when about to communicate, being supported by two persons (as otherwise he could not have kept his feet), he bowed his head almost to the ground, and, with many tears and sobs, said inwardly the "*confiteor.*" When I saw him thus I thought I saw the picture of our Lord's blessed mother as she is represented at the foot of the cross supported by the two Marys, and in truth I never witnessed in any other person such deep expression of contrition and devotion, so true and cordial. He communicated several times even after this, ever most devoutly; and till the last day chose to hear daily not only the mass but also the office, and three hours before his death he heard vespers and the complin.

In making his will the Cardinal was pleased to appoint me its executor, as your Lordship will see by a copy of the document, which I could not but send you, although he expresses himself therein so affectionately in my favour; and it is also evident that in this pro-

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ceeding his Lordship was guided by God (I mean in leaving this executorship to a foreigner, and to a person for whom great respect has been shown here, most especially on account of my native land), for the present Queen had been inspired with such suspicions and evil impressions against this most virtuous personage that had the affair been put into the hands of Englishmen, or been managed otherwise, all might very easily have gone upside down, to the detriment of the many poor persons amongst whom all these effects have to be distributed.

I will not commence narrating in detail the difficulties which were raised at the commencement, so that for many days we were stayed, and unable to remove or do anything, having ever the ministers of her Majesty in the house, who put us to no slight cost, and we also suffered loss. But at length the light of truth dispelled the shadows and false suspicions, which purported that (on account of the Church property ceded to the clergy and left at his right reverend Lordship's disposal, as also by other means) the Cardinal had acquired here, and left, great treasures. We at length freed ourselves entirely from these and similar suspicions equally false; and subsequently from her Majesty and from her ministers we have experienced nothing but all rightful favour and courtesy.

For two months I have been ill of quartan fever, having suffered other two from other fevers, which have been very prevalent here this year; nevertheless by God's grace I felt and yet feel myself capable of supporting the constant fatigues and troubles which I have to encounter on account of this executorship, and in mind also I find myself extraordinarily comforted. This I attribute to the great piety of the work wherein I am engaged, and to that serenity of mind which our Lord God grants me for its treatment without the slightest regard or personal interest, as also to the aid received from the prayers of that sainted soul.

For these reasons, independently of my illness, I must remain here at least for all the rest of this winter, in order to give to everything the best order and effect I can; and then, should it please our Lord God, I shall move towards Italy, ever bearing with me until death the duly loving and respectful recollection of your right reverend Lordship, to whom I feel most obliged, not merely for that goodwill which I have witnessed towards myself, but also for that which has ever been demonstrated for this my very dear father and master.

Our Delgado* will bear and present in the Cardinal's name to your right reverend Lordship a small but very suitable memorial of your true, mutual, and most christian amity, which I desire and pray may also induce a recollection of me in the daily offerings of your right reverend Lordship, and without prayer (*et senza oratione*); whose hand I kiss with all affection, recommending myself most heartily.

London, 5th December 1558.

[*Italian.*]

* In a former letter to the Cardinal of Burgos, dated Greenwich, 14th April 1558, the name seems to be *Giovanni di Ugaldo.*

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Dec. 10. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

1293. MICHIEL SURIAN, Venetian Ambassador with King Philip, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The King is now in retirement with a few of his household at the Abbacy, where he will remain until the performance of the Emperor's obsequies, which are delayed until after Christmas; but next week the obsequies of Queen Mary of England will take place, as also those of the other Queen, Maria of Hungary, which two ceremonies will not be attended by his Majesty. All the affairs of the Court are suspended until the close of this ceremony.

Lord Cobham has arrived, having been sent by the new Queen of England, and yesterday he had a long audience of his Majesty, but merely performed general offices of condolence on the death of Queen Mary, offering him the goodwill of the present Queen and of the whole kingdom, promising observance of the old and new treaties of England with his Majesty, and offering to confirm them at his pleasure. By "the treaties" are understood those made heretofore with King Henry, which bind the United Provinces (quelli Stati) *and England to reciprocal defence* (comune defesa) *with a certain number of troops; which treaties were also subsequently confirmed in the time of Queen Mary. Concerning this matter Lord Cobham said that Queen Elizabeth* (quella Regina) *does not in any way intend to depart from the counsel and opinion of his Majesty, hoping that from the goodwill always evinced by him he will not renounce* (non sia per abbandonar) *the protection of that kingdom.*

He is not known to have said a single word about the war with France, either as to continuing or relinquishing it; but from what was said by the Bishop of Ely, who returned lately from the Conference where the peace was treated, England is determined not to make it without the restitution of Calais, and he added that should King Philip not choose to wage war the English will continue it alone until they recover their own; which resolve seems to have been formed in Parliament, which was assembled during the lifetime of the late Queen. The said Bishop and his colleague, Dr. Wotton, have had a fresh order to remain here, that they may attend the new conference which is to take place at the end of next month, and for this cause Queen Elizabeth sent no ambassador to France, but only to the Emperor and to King Philip (et al Re presente), *a very evident sign that England will remain united with his Majesty and disunited from the French, much to the advantage of these States, which would be lost immediately were England their enemy.*

It continues to be said that the French are urging the Pope to declare that Queen a bastard and a heretic, and therefore ineligible to the Crown (incapace del Regno); *and although such be the public report, and it is also confirmed by letters from Italy, I do not hear that it originates from any but the Spaniards, owing to their nature or their will; yet if the French attempt this they will only render that Queen their most inveterate enemy* (inimicissima), *and make her determine utterly in favour of this side* (et farla risolver in tutto et per tutto da questa parte).

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Nothing certain is known about her Majesty's marriage, but so far as can be elicited from these English lords she does not seem to have any inclination to marry abroad, and within the realm there is no other subject except one sole young man, 22 years old, and the Queen's kinsman, the Duke of Norfolk, if I am not mistaken (et nel Regno non vi è altro soggietto che un sol giovane de 22 anni et parente della Regina, Duca di Norfolch, salvo il vero); *and he is the same personage who last year* (l'anno passato) *sent to Rome to have a dispensation to marry one of his kinswomen in the third degree, and did not obtain it, which will have been his good fortune should this befall him.*

I wrote that the Bishop dell' Aquila* had departed to cross over to England, and it is feared that he has been drowned or carried into remote parts with the Earl of Arundel, who was on board the same ship, as no subsequent news has been heard either of them or the vessel.

As yet no unfavourable stir (niun moto cattivo) *is seen about the affairs of the religion. It is true that in the proclamation issued by the Queen "that no one was to dare (of his own authority) to molest* (offender) *sacred places nor religious persons, nor to alter the present state of the religion," the phrase "of his own authority" is construed to imply that the Queen, at her own time, will herself give the authority; but not to be in fear is impossible, not so much on this account, as because the persons about her are all suspected, and the slightest alteration will alter everything and be the final ruin of that kingdom.*

Brussels, 10th December 1558.

[*Italian, partly in cipher; the portion in italics deciphered by Signor Luigi Pasini.*]

Dec. 11. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

1294. MICHIEL SURIAN, Venetian Ambassador with King Philip, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The French at the conference having earnestly requested that in order to release the Constable a ransom should be placed upon him and King Philip having consented to this, for the reasons written in my last letter, the Duke of Savoy has sent an agent of his to Lille, where the Constable is, for the purpose of treating the amount, his Excellency being doubtful of the peace, as he infers that were there any hope of it the French would not have been so urgent about the ransom, knowing that if it were made the Constable would be at liberty without payment; so he has desired his said agent to treat for effecting his restoration to his State whether peace be made or not. The Duke is very dissatisfied with every one of these lords, and more than ever wishes to get out of their hands; and so all of them, with the single exception of the King, show but little trust in him.

* By name Alvarez de Quadra. See before, 27th November. I do not know the date of his arrival in England, but he was there in 1559, as seen by the Foreign Calendar of that year.

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My successor* arrived at Cologne on the 7th instant, and will be here this week.

Brussels, 11th December 1558.

[*Italian, partly in cipher; the portion in italics deciphered by Signor Luigi Pasini.*]

Dec. 23. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

1295. GIOVANNI MICHIEL, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

On the 21st the Constable arrived from Lille in Flanders, having completely freed himself by agreeing to pay a ransom of 200,000 crowns, of which he has now disbursed 60,000; 18 months' time and convenience being conceded him for payment of the residue in half-yearly rates; and many persons say that after paying the first rate, which would form a total of 100,000 crowns, he has been promised by the Duke of Savoy that should peace be made he will be exempted (*gratificato*) from the two remaining instalments, amounting to another 100,000. At his Excellency's request, he was to have been accompanied by his nephew the Admiral, who had also stipulated his ransom for 50,000 crowns, which sum was to have been paid at the frontiers near Doulens, from which place they were to have come on together. It is not known why the Admiral was not allowed to proceed, but according to report suspicion was the cause, he being charged with having laid a plot against some Flemish seaport, nor do the Spaniards apparently intend to release him until after investigation of this matter; and a person in authority tells me that on the Constable's arrival at Doulens, not finding the Admiral there, he complained of it to the Count of Stroppiana, who had accompanied him thither in the name of the Duke of Savoy, desiring him half angrily (*mezzo turbato*) to tell the Duke to beware of not failing in what he had promised him, unless he wished the Constable also to do the like by him the Duke. All those who went to meet his Excellency say that in every place through which he passed he was received with infinite joy and demonstrations on the part of the people and the populace (*de i populi et delle genti minute*), as if he had been the King in person; and immediately on his arrival at the Court, on the very first evening, there returned into his hands, not only all the affairs, the Duke de Guise and the Cardinal of Lorraine having withdrawn themselves entirely, but all that concourse of followers (*tutto quel concorso et seguito*) which he used to have heretofore, so that no difference between his past and present position (*esser*) is perceptible, he continuing his usual procedure, and with the same, and it may be said greater, authority in all his actions; nor in like manner is he apparently much more aged or less active (*men gagliardo*), except that owing to the harquebuse shot which struck him when he was made prisoner, he is still obliged when going down stairs to take some one's arm, and to be supported on either side.

Poissy, 23rd December 1558.

[*Italian.*]

* Surian's successor at the court of King Philip was Paolo Tiepolo.

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Dec. 23.
Original Despatch, Venetian Archives. (2nd letter.)

1296. GIOVANNI MICHIEL, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The Constable's adherents are more than ever convinced of the certainty of peace, and do not believe it can be impeded by any decision about the marriage of the Queen of England, even were she to take King Philip (*ancora ch'ella pigliasse il Re Filippo*), concerning which however they are the more suspicious, as they can learn nothing certain as to what is passing on that island, still less with regard to that Queen's will and intention about the said marriage, the only news received being through vessels which arrive on the coast of France with safeconducts, bringing very stale advices, and of little or no authenticity. Even yesterday morning, at the Constable's dinner, when talking with the Duke de Guise, he told me that through the same channel the King had been informed that there was a general report of a son of Lord Shrewsbury's, by name Talbot, one of the chief noblemen of England.* He also announced to me the departure hence of Lord Grey, on his parole given by him to the Duke de Guise for 40,000 crowns ransom, should he not return, or not be allowed to come back; and from his personal exertions much is expected. In the meanwhile, they have made the Queen-Dauphine go into mourning (*hanno fatto vestire il corrotto alla Regina Delphina*) without proceeding any farther, as they said they would, by causing her to add the arms of England to her own of Scotland, and to style herself Queen of England.

The despatch of Cornelio Bentivoglio to Montalcino,† unless it be prevented by the Constable, is postponed until the arrival of the Court at Paris, four days hence. On the authority of the Prince of Ferrara and of the Cardinal of Lorraine, I hear that the promise of those fortresses is made to the said Prince under pretence of a special gratuity demanded by him, and conceded by the King, as recompense for the services rendered both by the Duke his father and himself in the late war which was waged at the request and instigation of his most Christian Majesty, as also for future services in which the Prince of Ferrara is determined to persevere, having resolved never to detach his fortunes from those of the King of France. *They think thus to cloak the sale or cession of the said fortresses for a sum of money, as a dishonourable act and unbecoming the greatness of so great a King, who alienates a State which placed itself under his protection voluntarily, although I understand that this cession was made, provided the Republic of Sienna be unable to recover its liberty by getting back the towns held by the Duke of Florence.* On the other hand, the delegates from Montalcino, who came hither lately, have told me that they could not desire a better intention nor more honourable words than they heard from the

* *Francis* Talbot, *fifth* Earl of Shrewsbury, died 25th September, 1560, leaving an *only* son *George*, sixth Earl of Shrewsbury, who for 15 years was the gaoler of Mary, Queen of Scots. (See Collins, vol. 3, p. 23.)

† See before date 12 November 1558, about the cession by France of Montalcin and the rest of the Siennese territory to the Prince of Ferrara. See also despatch from Brussels, 28 November 1557.

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King, as also from the Constable since his return, with regard to not ceasing to protect them, assuring the delegates that his most Christian Majesty will never form any resolve that can be considered unfair or unworthy of a true prince.

Poissy, 23rd December 1558.

[*Italian, partly in cipher; the portion in italics deciphered by Signor Luigi Pasini.*]

Dec. 24. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

1297. GIOVANNI MICHIEL, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

I have now to inform your Serenity of a circumstance related to me this morning by Don Alfonso of Este, brother of the Duke of Ferrara, who came to dine with me, accompanied by many other gentlemen in the service of the Prince of Ferrara, concerning M. de Guise and M.* [*François*] *de Montmorency, the Constable's eldest son, which seemed very strange to everybody, above all to the King, for it happened thus.*

M. de Guise had first arranged with the Prince of Ferrara and the Duke de Nemours, that for his safety they were to find themselves at a certain spot† *outside the Palace of St. Germain to which he would come, praying them merely to witness what took place, leaving him to act, and not to stir, unless they saw that some wrong were done him, and that he needed assistance. Shortly afterwards, having found the said Montmorency in the Queen's chamber, the Duke approached and drawing him by the hand said, with a very good humoured countenance, that he had something to say to him and that they must have a meeting* (et di esser con lui). *They went on their way thus, without showing any sign of anger, but commencing a jocose conversation* (ma intrando in ragionamento di burla)*; and little by little the Duke led him from the Palace to the place where the aforesaid personages were. When in their presence, turning to Montmorency, the Duke said to him, "Monseigneur, I have brought you hither, because it has been told me that you have maligned me, and said certain things to my dishonour, which without farther noise I choose to resent, as is my duty; so draw your sword, as I will, to make a dispute and to do mortal battle with you;"*‡ *Montmorency was not only astonished, but perplexed by this language, finding himself face to face with such a man, the disparity between them consisting not merely in age and stature, in both of which M. de Guise is doubly the superior of M. de Montmorency, who is also less robust, but likewise with regard to authority, experience, and courage; so with all humility and in great fear* (tutto humile et pieno di timor) *he denied having ever said anything to the Duke's dishonour, having always considered him his honoured Lord and superior* (havendolo sempre hauto per maggior, et honorato come Signor), *and said that finding himself*

* The dinner hour in England at this period was 11. a.m. (*See* Harrison, in Edinburgh Review, No. 299, July 1877, p. 243.)

† In the Forest of St. Germain?

‡ *Che voglio far costione (sic) et ammazzarmi con voi.*

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in his hands he was to do what he pleased with him, and that acknowledging the Duke to be his master he would endure any injury from him. But on returning to the palace Montmorency immediately entered the King's presence, where his father was, and narrated what had passed, which caused his most Christian Majesty to evince displeasure, for when M. de Guise returned he for a long while would not look at him. The Constable, on the other hand disregarded the matter, and seemed almost amused by it, for shortly afterwards he was seen to come forth with a very cheerful countenance, which was however interpreted to be a feint, from the Constable's wish to exaggerate the imprudence of M. de Guise, for such is it in fact termed by those who have heard of the circumstance; and as they are very few it is hitherto kept secret, nor need I remind your Serenity of the necessity for your following this example. From this commencement, which occurred two days ago, the end of these animosities is manifest, unless the King apply a remedy by exacting such respect as is due to a prince from all those who are in his service, and most especially from his vassals.

Poissy, 24th December 1558.

[*Italian, partly in cipher; the portions in italics deciphered by Signor Luigi Pasini.*]

APPENDIX.

1363.
Nov. 26.
Secreti Collegio, p. 114 recto.* Venetian Archives.

1. MOTION made and carried in the COLLEGE, to engage English soldiery for the suppression of a revolt in the island of Candia.

As it would be advantageous to have in our service 300 good Englishmen, be it decreed that Peglio di Vonico and a competent individual from amongst the notaries of the Court of Pleas (*Curiæ*), do endeavour to obtain for us 300 Englishmen of the best to be got. That Peglio &c. do promise, if able to have them with their horses well furnished in our service for six months, from 12,000 to 15,000 ducats, or under; and if that number cannot be obtained [for that sum], an offer may be made to the amount of 18,000 ducats in all, or under. If so many as 300 cannot be had, a less number may be received at proportional pay.

[*Latin.*]

Nov. 26.
Secreti Collegio, p. 114 tergo.

2. MOTION carried in the COLLEGE.

That our messengers about to enlist troops and Englishmen be furnished with letters of credence to such Lords as may be necessary in order to obtain passage for them.

The said Englishmen must arrive at Venice by the 1st of next March; then when in the act of departing from hence, they may receive one half of the said money, and the other half at the end of three months; they will not pay any passage money, but will go and return with our ships. They are to understand that they must obey the Captain-General of the territory (*terræ*)† and his officials appointed by the Venetian Republic.

At the end of the said term, should we no longer require them for our service, we shall be bound to give them one month's notice, and they to do the like by us.

That the said Englishmen be bound to the other articles of the cavalry code (*pactorum equitum*) as therein contained. That should our messengers find it advantageous to promise to land the said Englishmen, on the completion of our service, from our ships without any passage money, in the parts of Rhodes or Cyprus, with

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* The register from which the following entries are made was not sent back to Venice from Vienna until the year 1868, and therefore they could not be printed in the first volume of the Venetian Calendar, as it had been already published in 1864.

† Territory of the island of Candia, not either Candia or Canea, its two principal cities. The commission given by Doge Celsi to the Captain-General Luchino del Verme, dated Ducal Palace, Venice, 2nd March 1464, desires him to act "*contra Cretenses rebelles*," without mentioning any particular town or city in the island of Candia. (*See* Ricotti, Storia delle Campagnie di Ventura in Italia, vol. 4, pp. 355–357.)

1363.

the consent of the Lords of the said places, we should be content to do so, that they may have more ample cause for coming and for seeking our honour.

[*Latin.*]

Nov. 28.
Secreti Collegio, p. 115 tergo.

3. MOTION carried in the COLLEGE.

That Peglio di Vonico, and our notary Andrea, and this John of England,* do execute what has been carried about the Englishmen; and should Peglio not go, let the other two go, viz., our notary Andrea, and John the Englishman.

Ayes, 10.

Proposed amendment.—Should Peglio not choose to go, let one of our noblemen go, to be elected by scrutiny.

Ayes, 3; noes, 0; neutral, 0.

That Peglio di Vonico, our notary Andrea, and John of England may all together disburse daily for their expenses, three ducats for board, &c.; Peglio to have two servants, with two horses for himself; and John and Andrea to have two horses for their own personal use.

[*Latin.*]

Dec. 4.
Secreti Collegio, p. 117.

4. MOTION made and carried in the COLLEGE.

As by the College it was carried to accept the under-written cavalry (*gentes equestres*), viz., 300 Englishmen, 100 of the troops of the Count of Gorizia, 100 of the troops of Count Bartolo, with 50 of the Count of Rayfembergh, besides 200 of the troops of the Duke of Austria, which numbers nearly correspond with the licence given by the Council of the Senate; and as it is manifest the Lord Galeotto di Malatesta will not accept the Captainry of the territory (*terræ*), except with so large an amount of horse and foot, and such an exorbitant salary, as cannot be conceded him:—

Put to the ballot, that time be not lost in appointing another Captain-General of the territory.

— 5, — 5.

[*Latin.*]

1364.
Jan. 2.
Secreti Collegio, p. 126.

5. MOTION made in the COLLEGE, by the Doge, the Councillors, and the Chiefs of the Ten, except the Councillor Pietro Cornaro, and the Chief Leone Bembo.

That a letter be written to Andrea that if he can fulfil our intention about the Englishmen, they may come, according to the order given him. If not, let him take such number of them as he can get, in proportion to the sum assigned him, but if he cannot obtain any Englishmen, let him take Germans or Burgundians, as the Lord Pandolfo shall consider best, to the number of 200 in armour; and in case he should get any Englishmen, he may

* The most famous "John of England" in Italy at the period in question was John Hawkwood, who, although himself in the service of Pisa, may perhaps have come to Venice to offer the services of some of his countrymen to the Republic.

1364.

supply the deficiency with other troops as aforesaid, so that, including Englishmen and the others, there be 200 in all.

That he may also engage 400 foot soldiers, half arbalist-men (*balistarios*) and half with breastplates (*pavesaros*).

Ayes, 6.

Amendment.—That Andrea do his utmost to engage the Englishmen as he is commissioned, or as many as he can, and also foot soldiers according to the Doge's motion as above*; and if unable to obtain Englishmen, nor to effect our intention, let him write and wait.

Ayes, 6; noes, 0; neutral, 0.

[*Latin.*]

Jan. 2. Secreti Collegio, p. 126 tergo.

6. MOTION made in the COLLEGE.

That Andrea be written to in accordance with the preceding amendment. Carried unanimously (*omnes*).

[*Latin.*]

Jan. 13. Secreti Collegio, p. 129.

7. MOTION made and carried in the COLLEGE.

Be Pasqualino Minotto written to, that if besides the 50 men in armour (*barbutas*) he is to bring with him, he can have as many as 100 Englishmen, or Englishmen and Hungarians, good and profitable (*avantazata*) troops, with pay and terms of their own, he do endeavour to have and to bring them.

Ayes, 7; noes (in favour of delay), 5; neutral, 0.

[*Latin.*]

Jan. 13. Secreti Collegio, p. 129 tergo.

8. MOTION made and carried in the COLLEGE.

That Andrea be written to thus,—Having understood your numerous letters, and lastly those dated 6th January, we reply that as you cannot have the Englishmen, you must endeavour to engage the 400 foot soldiers about whom we wrote yesterday, as instead of those Englishmen we will supply ourselves with other troops from these parts.

Ayes, 9.

Amendment.—That Henriginus be engaged with 100 cavalry and 400 foot soldiers, and the friend [John of Brixen] of the Lord Dondazo with 50 men in armour (*barbutis*); and be it written to Andrea that if he can have 300 Englishmen for 20,000 ducats he do engage them, and the 400 soldiers.

Ayes, 3; noes, 0: neutral, 0.

[*Latin.*]

Feb. 5. Secreti Collegio, p. 132 tergo.

9. MOTION made and carried in the COLLEGE.

Whether it seems fit to you, for the good direction of this war, to receive 100 Englishmen into our service. In case it be determined to engage them, be it carried that they may be engaged for our Captain of the territory [of Candia], who will be appointed for our service;

* The reigning Doge was Lorenzo Celsi.

1364.

and such additional sum as shall be given them, to be comprised in the amount of the Captain's contingent.

Moreover, in case the said Englishmen be received into our service, be it ordered that 100 of the least efficient of our cavalry be recalled from our stipend.

7–10.

Amendment.—No mention to be made at present of breaking any one (*de cassando aliquem*), but that the matter be delayed.

5–5.

Noes, 3; neutral, 0.

[*Latin.*]

Feb. 7. Secreti Collegio, p. 134 tergo.

10. MOTION made and carried in the COLLEGE.

That leave be given to our Governors of the [Venetian] territory (*terræ*) to engage (*firmandi*) the Lord Thomas, the Englishman, (*Dominum Thomam Anglicum*) with 100 English men-at-arms, and 100 horses for our service, at 10 ducats for each horse, giving besides to the said Lord Thomas, for his exertions (*laboribus*) to the amount of 1,200 ducats, or less, as our Governors shall be able to stipulate with him.

[*Latin.*]

Feb. 8. Secreti Collegio, p. 135 tergo.

11. MOTION made and carried in the COLLEGE.

That to the Lord Thomas, the Englishman, who has been received into our service, there may be lent on trust 500 ducats, so that our Governors may be the better able to obtain what is required, that sum being placed to the account of his pay. That if the said Lord Thomas come with only 10 men, more or less, of the 100 assigned him, he be nevertheless received and paid according to rate; and should he come two or three days before the term appointed him, yet let him be received and make his muster, which being done he is to commence receiving pay. On his completion of our service, he to be taken by our vessels either to Cyprus or Rhodes, with the consent of the Lords in those parts.

[*Latin.*]

Feb. 8. Secreti Collegio, p. 137 tergo.

12. NUMBER of CAVALRY received and confirmed against the Rebels of Candia:

Captain of the territory, men in armour (*barbutas*)	150
The Marshal " " "	50
Pasqualino Minotto, with his followers - -	107
Peio, men in armour (*barbutas*) - - -	50
Franceschino Bomber - - - -	50
Ambrogio of Milan - - - -	50
Pasqualino Bon - - - - -	25
Giacomello Pissani (*sic*) - - - -	25
Francesco da Rovigo - - - -	25
The friend of the Lord Dondazzo, viz. Giovanni of Brixen - - - - - -	100
Enrigino - - - - - -	100
Slaves - - - - - -	100
Gotomich - - - - - -	50

1364.

Giuliano Baldechino - - - -	10
Son of Marco Tiepolo - - . -	6
Englishmen - - - - -	110
Governors - - - - -	16
Paymasters - - - - -	6
Total men in armour (*barbute*) - -	1,005 (*sic*)

1365.

March 3. Processi, Registro 1363–1369, Signori di notte al Criminal. Venetian Archives.

13. PROCESS for the MURDER of JOHN of ENGLAND, servant of Sir Henry Stromin, of England.

On the 3rd of March 1365, John of England, servant of Henry of England, who is going on the voyage,* swore before the Lord Triadano Griti, lord of the night watch, to tell the truth, and was asked about the blow received by him. As he knew not the Latin tongue he was interrogated by an interpreter, videlicet, by the said Henry his master, who in like manner was put upon oath to speak the truth.

He said that today at the vesper hour, when at the hostel of John the Englishman, host of the Dragon, at the bridge della Paglia (*pallearum*), whilst in the stable looking after his horses, together with his fellow-servant, Robin the groom, a fellow (whom he does not know, being a foreigner) came and commenced urining on the horse litter in the said stable, on seeing which he, Robin, reproved him, and said he did not choose him to urine there, and told him to "get out" (*et dixit vade foras*). The man answered him that thus would he do whether he liked it or not; whereupon he, John, with his fellow-servant aforesaid drove him out. Shortly afterwards he returned thither, and with a stone in his hand struck Robin on the head with his left hand, but without any hurt; and when Robin said to the man, "Why strikest thou me?" he answered, "Because it pleases me;" so he took him by the beard, whereupon the man instantly drew a bread knife, and stabbed him with it in his left side, drawing blood, and then ran away.

Being asked about that individual's stature, and his apparel, he replied that he is a young man with a black beard, and that he had a pelisse on his back (*unam peliciam in dorso*).†

Venice, 3rd March 1365.

[*Latin.*]

March 5. Processi, 1363–1369.

14. MURDER of ENGLISH JOHN, stableman of Sir Henry Stromin.

On the 5th of March Thomas Furlano, flayer at the butchery of Rialto, parishioner of St. Ermagora, and [resident] in the house of the Lady Magdalen Pagan, sworn witness, being examined about the said process, testified upon oath before the said lord of the night watch that on Monday last, the 3rd of this present month, on which day there was the pardon at the church of the Crutched Friars, when on his way to San Giovanni Nuovo by the Calle of Ca Michiel, he

* The pilgrims' galleys left Venice annually for the Holy Land at Ascension tide.

† In the Venetian dialect, at the present day, the word *pelizza* signifies a garment lined with fur, from the Latin *pelliceus*. The common people often wear it over their shoulders when in exercise.

1365.

heard someone running along the street after him, and then on looking back he saw one Mioranza, the cap maker, so called, nor does he know him by any other name, nor where he lives, running there as fast as he could with a pelisse on his back like a surcoat (*in modum subbi*), and passing by he took off the pelisse, and said to witness, "Take and keep this pelisse." Witness received the pelisse, and proceeding on his way saw the said Mioranza cross the stone bridge of San Zacariah, and there at a water stair (*ad unam ripam*) at the foot (*capite*) of the bridge, he threw himself into the canal, but does not know whither he went, as witness proceeded on his own business to his own house, and deposited the pelisse in safety in the hands of a certain doublet maker in the quarter of the Holy Apostles. Witness then said that in the said street of Ca Michiel there was a certain Englishman, whose name is unknown to him, in pursuit of said Mioranza, shouting, "Run, rogue, as thou wilt, thou canst not escape, and shouldst swing" (*et suspenderes*), and he saw the said Englishman take a bar in his hand with which to strike said Mioranza, who then threw himself into the water; and witness said he had seen nothing more of the aforesaid outrage, and knew not what else to say. Being asked whether said Mioranza had a knife or any other weapon in his hand, he replied not that he saw.

Venice, 5th March 1365.

[*Latin.*]

March 5. **15.** MURDER of ENGLISH JOHN.

Processi, 1363–1369.

On the 5th of March Robin the groom (Rubinus Ragacinus) of Sir Henry Stromin, who lodges in the hostel of John the Englishman, host of the Dragon, in the parish of San Giovanni Nuovo, sworn witness, and examined before the above-written lord of the night watch, because he did not know the Latin tongue, was interrogated by the said John, the host, who was put upon oath to speak the truth. Robin swore that on the day before yesterday, whilst in the stable in the said hostel with John of England, his fellow-servant, looking after his master's horses, he saw a fellow with a black beard, and a pelisse on his back, come and urine in the stable under the horses, wherefore the said John, witness's fellow-servant, said to him "Why dost urine here?" and he answered, "I will urine despite thee," and John said, "Thou dost not well, for the stable is large, and thou couldst urine elsewhere;" and then the fellow took a stone in his hand and aimed it at the said John, but missed him, because he bowed his head; and in the meanwhile the aforesaid John took him by the beard, and then the same man raised his hand instantly and stabbed the said John in his left side, witness supposing that he meant to pommel him, and he saw that he had a bread knife in his hand; and the aforesaid John fell to the ground the moment he was struck, the man who struck him running away. Witness ran after him together with one Jacky (Zanechinus) his master's companion, as far as the stone bridge of San Zachariah, and there the said man threw himself into the water; and witness saw two women, whom he does not know, take him by the hand and pull him into a house.

Venice, 5th March 1365.

[*Latin*]

1365.
March 7.
Processi, 1363–1369.

16. MURDER of ENGLISH JOHN.

On the 7th of March the surgeon Magister Bortolomeo, of San Felice, reported before the lord of the night watch, under the oath of his profession whereby he is bound, that today, in virtue of a mandate from the night watch, he went to see John of England, servant of Henry of England, at the hostel of John the Englishman, host of the Dragon, who said he was dead; and he saw his dead body, which he examined carefully, and found it pierced on the left side with a stab (*uno vulnere de puncta*), the *omentum* protruding and with effusion of blood; and the wound was mortal, and caused his death.

On the same day Giovanni of Montagnana and Bortolomeo the Cowherd, keepers of the lords of the night watch in the quarter of the castle, reported *ut supra.*

Venice, 7th March 1365.

[*Latin.*]

1377.
April 11.
Register 1363–80, Cancelleria Ducale. Archives of Modena.

17. LICENCE by NICOLO, MARQUIS OF ESTE,* to the noble Englishman ZANICHINO PENRETH.

On exhibiting this safe conduct he and ten comrades, with their servants, horsemen, footmen, and baggage, to be allowed free passage by land and water on their way to the Venetian territory and returning thence, the licence being available for five months only.

Ferrara, 11th April 1377.

[*Latin.*]

Nov. 3.
File Condottieri di Milizie. Archives of Modena.

18. DONNINA VISCONTI, consort of Sir John Hawkwood, to the Lady [Verde della Scala] MARCHIONESS OF ESTE.

Announces to her most honoured co-sponsor (*commater*) that to the great joy of herself and of her husband she has been delivered of a very fine male child. Catherine, for whom the marchioness stood godmother, is well.

(Signed) Donnina Vicecomes, consors magnifici militis domini Johanis Acud.†

Florence, 3rd November 1386.

[*Latin.*]

1445?
Nov. 27.
Lettere di Principi Esteri. Archives of Modena.

19. MARGUERITE [of Anjou,] QUEEN OF ENGLAND and France, and Lady of Ireland, to the MARCHIONESS OF ESTE [Maria of Aragon].

The notable and distinguished youth, Reynold Chicheley, lately returned from Italy, whom we hold dear and singularly acceptable by reason of his ability, probity, and superior qualities, narrated to us how honourably and liberally you treated him not long ago, for

* When the following letters were written, the heads of the house of Este bore the title of Vicars of the See Apostolic in Ferrara, of which city Borso was created the first Duke by Pope Pius II. in the year 1471. (*See* Frizzi, vol. 4, p. 66.)

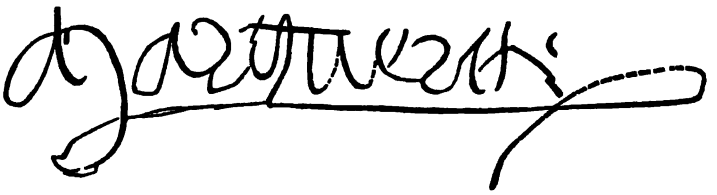
† This differs from the signature in vol. 1, Venetian Calendar, p. 29. Hawkwood's marriage to Donnina Visconti, according to Osio (vol. 1, p. 191), took place in the year 1377.

1445.

which we return you the greatest thanks, earnestly requesting you to persevere in your former protection and goodwill towards him, and to hold him as again recommended, giving him entire credence for what he will tell you in our name. We send you by him a little present, viz., to use the native tongue, an ambling hobby (*videlicet nauil? ut patrio more loquar deambulantem*).

From our royal manor of Eltham (Etrum), 27th November [1445 ?]

(Signed) Marguerite.



[*Latin, on paper; partly illegible from mildew.*]

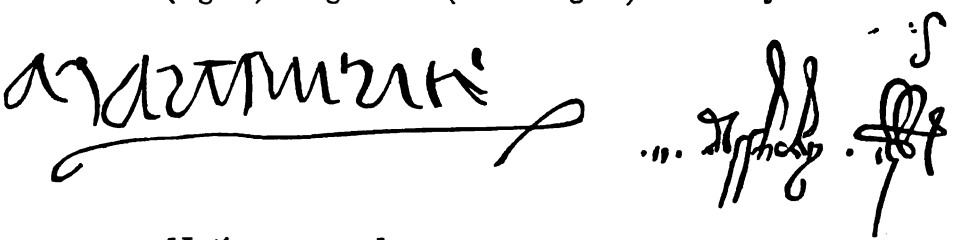
1446 ?
May 10.
Lettere di Principi Esteri. Archives of Modena.

20. MARGUERITE, QUEEN OF ENGLAND, to LEONELLO, MARQUIS OF ESTE.

So soon as it has been notified to us by the relation of our well-beloved familiar, the noble John Chicheley, citizen and chamberlain of London,* that that distinguished youth Reynold, his son, had by your favour and courtesy been so provided for, that there was intrusted to him that splendid and renowned office of Rector of the University (*almi studii*) in your city of Ferrara, we therefore return you the most hearty thanks, for it was desirable for us that this Reynold should, by his ability and probity, deserve the favour of so great and magnificent a prince, so much especially to the honour of our country, of his parents, house, and family. This Reynold, therefore, we now recommend to you in the strongest possible manner, and we pray you, out of regard for this our recommendation, to add something to your first act of kindness and grace towards this youth, and henceforth to show him yet more favour, and this will be acceptable to us, who are very much disposed to do whatever may be agreeable to you. Be healthful and happy.

London, 10th May [1446 ?]

(Signed) Marguerite. (Countersigned) A. Assheby.



[*Latin, on paper.*]

* "Although the chamberlain of London is annually chosen on Michaelmas day, yet he continues in office during life." (*See* Haydn's Book of Dignities, p. 264. Ed. London, 1851.)

1447.
May 10.
Lettere di Principi Esteri. Archives of Modena.

21. HENRY VI., KING OF ENGLAND and France and Lord of Ireland, to LEONELLO, MARQUIS OF ESTE.

Has heard of the favour and goodwill shown to Englishmen travelling through his territory, and especially of the extraordinary honour conferred on the King's well-beloved Reynold Chicheley, who continues to frequent his University of Ferrara. For this he is grateful to his Excellency, not merely on account of Reynold, but because Reynold's great uncle (*magnus ei patruus*), the Archbishop of Canterbury,* christened him the King. He also esteems Reynold for his natural application to classical studies (*honestissimarum rerum studiis*), and earnestly hopes he will continue in favour with the MARQUIS, to whom he recommends him warmly.

Windsor Castle, 10th May 1447, 26th (*sic*) year of the King's reign.

[*Latin, on parchment.*]

1449.
Nov. 29.
Lettere di Principi Esteri. Archives of Modena.

22. HENRY VI., KING OF ENGLAND, to LEONELLO, MARQUIS OF ESTE.

A few months ago received his Highness' letters from the hands of Reynold Chicheley confirming the Marquis's good will; enquires in reply what he can do for his good pleasure. Requests the continuance of his favour for the bearer, now on the point of departure, and that he will consider his words to be uttered by the King himself.†

London, 29th November 1449, 28th year of the King's reign.

[*Latin, on parchment; partly illegible from mildew.*]

1458.
June 14.
Officiali alle Rason Vecchie, Notatorio 2°, c. 9. Venetian Archives.

23. SHIPMENT of PRESENTS from the SIGNORY of VENICE for PHILIP THE GOOD, Duke of Burgundy, and for HENRY VI., King of England.

Jeronimo Bragadin, Jeronimo Morexini, and Francesco Charavello, officials of the *Raxon Vechie*, to Miser Andrea Lion.

As in God's name he is to go as captain of the present Flanders galley, inform him that on board his galley they have loaded two kilderkins (*charittej*) of malmsey, sealed with the Lion of St. Mark on the plugs and bungs, and a painted chest, wrapped in a mat, containing 16 earthen pots‡ of syruped confections; viz., 8 pots of green ginger, 3 do. quince, 3 do. melon,§ 2 pots of candied myrobalan plums,‖ and 4 gourd-shaped gilt glass flasks¶ of rosolio**;

* By Hall's Chronicle, (p. 108, ed. 1809), it is seen that the King was born on St. Nicholas' day in November 1422, but though the names of his sponsors are given, there is no mention of Henry Chicheley, who had been translated from St. David's to Canterbury in the year 1414.

† Leonello, Marquis of Este, died on the 1st of October 1450. (*See* Frizzi, vol. 3, p. 457.)

‡ *Pignate*, literally pipkins.

§ *Zuche, zuca*, melon. (*See* Boerio, Venetian Dictionary.)

‖ *Marabolani conditi.*

¶ Zuche 4 de vero dorade.

** Aqua ruoxa; a strong water or distilled spirits, not a perfume. In this case likewise, the receptacles were more precious than their contents, and the same may be said of the *majolica* pipkins.

1458.

stowed (*stivadi*) in cotton. Both chest and kilderkins are labelled on the front with the order for their consignment in Flanders to him, the Captain Lion, or his representative, desiring him to have the said things presented on behalf of their most illustrious Signory to the illustrious Lord Duke of Burgundy.

They have also loaded on board the galley, Ser Jacomo Balbi, master, eight butts malmsey and two painted chests wrapped in mats, and labelled on the front. The butts are sealed on the bungs and plugs with the Lion of St. Mark. One of the two chests contained 40 earthen pots (*pignate*) of syruped confections, viz., green ginger, 20 pots; melon (*zuche*), 10 pots; quince, 10 pots; and the other, 20 gilt glass guard-shaped flasks of rosolio (*d'aqua ruoxa*); all stowed (*stivadi*) in cotton, with orders for all the aforesaid things to be given to the Venetian Consul in London, or to his representative.

The officials of the *Raxon Vechie* therefore request the Captain Andrea Lion, on his arrival in England, when the galleys will part company, to order the said master to have the aforesaid things consigned to the Venetian Consul aforesaid, that the Signory's intention may take effect; they writing to the Consul what he is to do with the things aforesaid; and the officials pray God to conduct the Captain and his galleys in safety.

Venice, 14th June 1458.

[*Italian.*]

June 14. Officiali alle Rason Vecchie, Notatorio 2°, c. 9. Venetian Archives.

24. The SAME to JACOMO BALBI, Vice Captain in London.

As he is going as master of one of the Flanders galleys, under the command of the Captain Miser Andrea Lion, and as he, Balbi, is to go to London, they inform him that on board his galley they have loaded eight butts of malmsey, marked in front and sealed on the bungs and plugs with St. Mark's seal, according to the custom of the office, with orders for him to consign them to the Venetian Consul in London, or to his representative. They have also loaded on board his said galley two painted chests, wrapped in mats, marked in front, with orders for them to be given to our said Consul or to his representative, and stating for whom they are destined. In one of the said chests are 40 pots of confections in syrup, in the other 20 gilt glass guard-shaped flasks of rosolio. The officials pray his fraternity (*la fraternitade vostra*) to be pleased to have these things delivered, as soon as possible after his arrival in London, to the Signory's Consul or to his representative, as they are all to be presented to the illustrious Majesty (J.M.) of the King of England, and to other lords, in the name of the most illustrious Signory; the officials, by their letters, desiring the said Consul thus to do; and they therefore again request the vice-captain to use all despatch in having the said things consigned to the said Consul, that the intention of the Signory, to whom he will thus do what will be agreeable to them, may take effect. The officials pray God to conduct the galleys in safety, and request Balbi to have the letter, which they gave him for the Consul, delivered.

1458.

The office has also put on board the vice-captain's galley a small chest wrapped in a mat belonging to a French gentleman, and request Balbi to have it consigned to the said Consul, to whom they have given notice of the said case by letter.

Venice, 14th June 1458.

[*Italian.*]

June 14. Officiali alle Rason Vecchie Notatorio 2°, c. 9. Venetian Archives.

25. The SAME to SER BERTUZI CONTARINI, Consul in London.

We give you notice, that on board the London galley, Ser Jacomo Balbi, master, we have loaded to your order eight butts of malmsey marked on the front, and with parchment labels, indicating the persons for whom they are destined, the bungs and plugs being sealed with St. Mark's seal on Spanish wax; and the said Ser Jacomo Balbi has been charged to have them delivered to you. Of these eight butts you will present four in the name of our most illustrious Signory, as also the two painted chests, wrapped in matting, to his Majesty the King of England [Henry VI.] The two chests contain 40 earthenware pots (*pignate*) of confections in syrup (*in siropi*) stowed (*stivadi*) in cotton; viz., 20 pots green ginger, 10 pots melon (*zuche*), 19 pots quince; and in the other chest are 20 gourd-shaped gilt glass flasks of rosolio (*d'aqua ruoxa*) stowed (*stivade*) in cotton; which you will present in like manner to his Majesty the King of England.

The other four butts of malmsey are to be given to the Chancellor [William de Waynflete, Bishop of Winchester] and to the Treasurer [James, Earl of Wiltshire and Ormond], as usual, and both butts and chests have parchment labels in front, inscribed with the names of those to whom they are addressed; so on the galley's arrival there, see to getting and presenting them, in our most illustrious Signory's name, to the King's Majesty, and to those other personages who usually receive presents, in the name of our said lords; and we pray God to grant them a safe passage.

Venice, 14th June 1458.

Postscript.—A small chest, wrapped in a mat, has also been loaded in the said galley, which belongs to a French nobleman, who requested us to load it with our things. He says it contains glass vessels (*veri*), and Ser Jacomo Duodo will inform you to whom they are addressed.

(Signed) Jeronomo Bragadin e compagni, ofiziali ale razon vechie.

[*Italian.*]

1459. April 21. Officiali alle Rason Vecchie Notatorio 2°, c. 28. Venetian Archives.

26. SHIPMENT of PRESENTS from the SIGNORY of VENICE for PHILIP THE GOOD, Duke of Burgundy, and for HENRY VI., King of England.

Jerinomo Bragadin, Francesco Gradenigo, and Ferigo Chorner, officials of the *Raxon Vechie*, to Miser Alvixe Diedo, Captain of the Flanders galley.

Have loaded on board his galley five kilderkins (*charattej*) of malmsey, and one painted chest wrapped in mat, containing 16 earthen pots (*pignate*) of confections in syrup, viz., 8 pots green

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ginger, 3 pots quince, 3 pots melon, and 2 pots candied myrabolan plums (*e pignate 2 mirabolani*), and 4 gourd-shaped gilt glass flasks of rosolio; the which kilderkins and chest he is to present in Flanders to the illustrious Lord Duke of Burgundy on behalf of the most illustrious Signory.

Have also loaded on board the Mudaza galley, bound for London, 8 butts malmsey, and 2 painted chests wrapped in mat, one containing 40 earthen pots (*pignate*) of confections in syrup, viz., 20 pots green ginger, 10 pots melon, and 10 pots quince; and the other, 20 gourd-shaped gilt glass flasks of rose water; all of which things they request the Captain, when parting company with the London galley, to desire the master to deliver as soon as possible to the Venetian Consul in London.

Venice, 21st April 1459.

[*Italian.*]

April 21. Officiali alle Rason Vecchie Notatorio 2°, c. 53. Venetian Archives.

27. The SAME to POLLO MUDAZO, Vice Captain in London.

Instructions and particulars about presents for the King of England, &c. as in the official letter to the former Vice Captain, dated 14th June 1458.

Venice, 21st April 1459.

[*Italian.*]

27*a*. The SAME to BERTUZI CONTARINI, Venetian Consul in London.

Give him account of the usual presents for the King of England, the Chancellor, and the Treasurer, and desire him to consign them, in the same terms as in the former official letter, dated 14th June 1458.

Venice, 21st April 1459.

[*Italian.*]

1460.

July 8. Officiali alle Rason Vecchie Notatorio 2°, c. 53. Venetian Archives.

28. SHIPMENT of PRESENTS from the SIGNORY of VENICE for PHILIP THE GOOD, Duke of Burgundy, and for HENRY VI., King of England.

Renier Copo, Jacomo Moro, and Piero Memmo, officials of the *Raxon Vechie*, to Miser Piero Zorzi, Captain of the Flanders galley.

Have loaded on board his galley two kilderkins (*charattei*) of malmsey, and one painted chest wrapped in mat, containing 16 pots (*pignate*) confections in syrup, viz., 8 pots green ginger, 3 pots quince, 3 pots melon, and 2 pots candied myrabolan plums (*mirabolani chandidi*), and 4 gourd-shaped gilt-glass flasks of rosolio. Desire him to deliver the kilderkins and chest, on behalf of the illustrious Signory, to the illustrious Lord Duke of Burgundy.

On board the galley, Marin Dandollo, master, have also loaded 8 butts malmsey and two painted chests wrapped in mats, containing 40 pots (*pignate*) confections, viz., 20 green ginger, 10 melon, 10 quince, and 20 gourd-shaped gilt glass flasks of rosolio. When he arrives at the island (*a l'Isola*), where he will part company with

1460.

the London galley, be he pleased to order the said master to deliver the aforesaid things as speedily as possible to the Venetian Consul in London.

Venice, 8th July 1460.

[*Italian.*]

July 8. Officiali alle Rason Vecchie Notatorio 2°, c. 58. Venetian Archives.

29. The SAME to MARIN DANDOLLO, Master of a Flanders galley bound for London.

Instructions and particulars about the presents for the King of England, as in the former official letters dated 14th June 1458, and 21st April 1459.

Venice, 8th July 1460.

[*Italian.*]

July 8. Officiali alle Rason Vecchie Notatorio 2°, c. 53. Venetian Archives.

30. The SAME to BERTUZI CONTARINI, Venetian Consul in London.

Give him account of the usual presents for the King of England, the Chancellor,* and the Treasurer,† and desire him to consign them in the same terms as in the former official letters dated 14th June 1458, and 21st April 1459.

Venice, 8th July 1460.

[*Italian.*]

1461. June 7. Officiali alle Rason Vecchie Notatorio 2°, c. 90. Venetian Archives.

31. NOTARIAL ACT exculpating certain VENETIAN MERCHANTS from charge of having defrauded the King's Customs, &c.

Public instrument, dated 1461, third year of the Pontificate of Pope Pius II., on the 7th of June, in the orchard garden (*arcincus gardinum*) (sic.) of the well-known usual dwelling of Sir John Fry, in the parish of St. Bartholomew-the-Less, in the city of London, notifying that in the presence of the underwritten notable witnesses, Thomas Bray, otherwise called Thomas Castell, a youth of some education, publicly acknowledged, confessed, and affirmed that heretofore he, in certain places of the said city of London, in the presence of many trustworthy and other persons, falsely, iniquitously, and maliciously proclaimed, said, asserted, and affirmed with regard to certain persons, by name Pietro Diedo and Francesco Foscari, merchants, of Venice, that they had defrauded the customs of our Sovereign Lord the King of England and France, and Lord of Ireland, by removing clandestinely to their houses divers goods and effects of which the duty was unpaid (*non custumata*), secreting and retaining them, without any special grant or license from our said Lord the King; moreover, that the said Pietro and Francesco, both one and the other, in their own houses had committed the damnable crime of sodomy with the said Thomas; none of which aforesaid charges were true, but utterly contrary to the truth and entirely false, and all that he uttered was for the gain of money, and at the desire or by the will of one Dimilot Vanbeh, who contracted

* Thomas Bourchier, Archbishop of Canterbury, keeper, July 7. (Haydn, p. 102.)

† Henry, Viscount Bourchier, afterwards Earl of Essex, *second time*. (Haydn, p. 108.)

1461.

with him to that effect. Present, the venerable and discreet men Sir Thomas Walgrave, Knight, Maurice Arvusaldi (sic), Esquire, Giacomo Duodo, consul of the Venetians, Lunardo Bondumier, merchant, of Venice, and William Woortelyn, junr., skinner (*epiliparío*), of London.

Attested by John Hyde, clerk, of the diocese of Lincoln, province of Canterbury, procurator-general and notary public by apostolic and imperial authority.

Certificate by Giacomo Duodo, Venetian Consul in London, that the above written John Hyde is a public notary by authority and of good fame and condition, and that all that is premised was done with the consent of the parties; to which he affixed the official seal of the Consulate in London on the 20th August 1461.

[*Latin.*]

June 27. Officiali alle Rason Vecchie Notatorio 2°, c. 90. Venetian Archives.

32. The DOGE and SENATE to GIACOMO DUODO, Venetian Consul in London.

Concerning the case of our noble citizens, Francesco Foscari and Piero Diedo, we have determined to write a letter to the Mayor and Aldermen of London, of which we inclose copy*; and as we consider that the taking from them by violence of 40*l.* sterling is contrary to all humanity and equity, and may lead to inconvenient results hereafter, we charge you, together with our merchants in London, to appear before the said Mayor and Aldermen, and to present our letters, addressing them, and all others whom you may know to need it, in such strong and apposite language as shall seem fit to your prudence, in justification of this case; and in conclusion you will make all possible suit for full indemnity. All costs, past and present, on account of this matter are to be paid by the merchants there, proportionally.

Venice, 27th June 1461.

[*Italian.*]

June 30. Officiali alle Rason Vecchie Notatorio 2°, c. 76. Venetian Archives.

33. SHIPMENT of PRESENTS from the SIGNORY of VENICE, for PHILIP THE GOOD, Duke of Burgundy, and for EDWARD IV., King of England.

Charlo Donado, Piero Memo, and Piero Contarini, officials of the *Raxon Vechie*, to Miser Marin Malipiero, Captain of the Flanders galley.

Announce shipment on board his galley of presents for the Duke of Burgundy, as on the 8th July 1460; and on board the London galley, Stefano Barozi, master, they have loaded eight butts of malmsey and two painted chests wrapped in mats, &c., &c., for consignment to the Venetian Consul in London.

Venice, 30th June 1460.

[*Italian.*]

* Not found.

1461.
June 30.
Officiali alle Rason Vecchie Notatorio 2°, c. 76. Venetian Archives.

34. The SAME to STEFANO BAROZI, master of a Flanders galley bound for London.

Instructions and particulars about the presents for the King of England, &c., as in the former official letter, date 8th July 1460.

Venice, 30th June 1461.

[*Italian.*]

July .
Officiali alle Rason Vecchie Notatorio 2°, c. 76. Venetian Archives.

35. The SAME to SER JACOMO DUODO, Vice-Consul in London.

Give him notice that on board the London galley, Ser Stefano Barozi, master, they have loaded to his order (*a vostro ordene*), eight butts malmsey, sealed in Spanish wax, and directed, &c., four of which he is to present to his Majesty the King of England [Edward IV.], in the name of the most illustrious Signory; also two painted chests wrapped in mats, in one of which are 40 earthen pots (*pignate*) of confections in syrup (*in siropi*) stowed (*stivadi*) in cotton, viz., 20 pots green ginger, 10 pots melon, 10 pots quince, and in the other chest are 20 gilt-glass gourd-shaped flasks of rosolio, stowed in cotton, for presentation in like manner to his Majesty the King of England. He is to give the other four butts of malmsey to the Chancellor [George Neville, Bishop of Exeter], and to the Treasurer [Thomas Bourchier, Archbishop of Canterbury]; and both on the butts and on the painted chests he will find parchment labels; so on the arrival of the galley he is to present them immediately.

Venice . . . , July 1461.

[*Italian.*]

1462.
Jan. 22.
Officiali alle Rason Vecchie Notatorio 2°, c. 90. Venetian Archives.

36. Affidavit of PIERO GRITTI, concerning the arrest in London of PIERO DIEDO and FRANCESCO FOSCARI.

Being requested by the Magnificos the Lords of the Office of the *Raxon Vechie*, to state what he knows about a certain charge (*garbuglio*) made against Ser Piero Diedo, the son of Miser Alvise, and Ser Francesco Foscari, son of Miser Felipo, he says the said noblemen were arrested by a marshal (*per uno scudier*), which arrest it behoved them to terminate by paying the said marshal 40*l.* sterling, besides other expenses, viz., for messengers to the King, and for lawyers to defend their case in court and [against the ?] serjeant (*serzente*), and for their arrest. He is of opinion that they spent from 10*l.* to 12*l.* sterling.

Venice, 22nd January 1462.

[*Italian.*]

Jan. 22.
Officiali alle Rason Vecchie Notatorio 2°, c. 90. Venetian Archives.

37. Affidavit of LUNARDO BONDUMIER concerning the same arrest.

Being requested as above to say what he knows about the moneys spent in London on account of the charge against Ser Francesco Foscari, son of Miser Felipo, he says that he was there at the time of this charge, which Foscari settled with that gentleman through his Bondumier's means for 40*l.* sterling; and with regard to the cost incurred deponent affirmed that in his opinion it amounted to about 10*l.* sterling, and perhaps more, as in England the slightest difficul-

1462.

ties required much money, especially for the lawyer, who whenever he is spoken to, be it where it may, must have one or two nobles each time; to which must be added the cost of the exculpation (*la scritura*), and of the messengers despatched repeatedly to the King and the Ministers.

Venice, 22nd January 1462.

[*Italian.*]

Jan. 26. Officiali alle Rason Vecchie. Notatorio 2, c. 91. Venetian Archives.

38. AWARD made by the COMMISSIONERS of the OFFICE of the *Raxion Vechie* concerning costs of a process in London for defamation.

Before Misiers Carlo Donado, Piero Contarini, and Marco Capello, honourable lords at the office "*dele Raxion Vechie*," there appeared Miser Felipo Foscari and Miser Alvise Diedo, the Signory having charged the aforesaid lords to hear them about the case which occurred in London to Ser Francesco Foscari, son of the aforesaid Miser Felipo, and to Ser Pietro Duodo, son of Miser Alvise aforesaid; which case they stated to the aforesaid lords, how in the month of June 1461 they were fraudulently and unjustly accused of having committed sodomy with one Tomaxio Chastel, who was induced spontaneously to confess his crime, and to retract what he had said in accusation of the aforesaid Ser Pietro and Sir Francesco, which accusation he owned to having made, because he was suborned for money by one Dicilioto Vanber, he (Tomaxio) receiving his board from the [Venetian ?] merchants; as appears by a public instrument †drawn up by John Hyde, clerk and public notary of the Empire, in the year of our Lord 1461, on the 7th July (*sic*) [June] in London, and undersigned on the 20th August 1461 by the Venetian Consul in London, Jacomo Duodo; by the which instrument their innocence is clearly proved. It is also manifested by a letter from our most illustrious Signory to Ser Jacomo Duodo, Vice (sic) Consul in London, dated 27th June, desiring him as speedily as possible to provide there, with the Mayor and Aldermen and such other persons as may seem fit to him, to have it declared for the honour of the Venetian nation that the charge is false (*che tal vania* (*sic*) *sia dechiarita*).

Misiers Felipo Foscari and Alvise Diedo also demand that besides the sum of 40*l.* already expended to mitigate this case (*per metichar dita chaxion*) all other costs incurred for this matter be in like manner paid proportionately by the London factory; and as before the arrival of the said teller, the said Tomaxio had recanted his falsehood by the throat, as seen by the aforesaid instrument, furthur expenses to the amount of 24*l.* 12*s.* 10*d.* were incurred; the aforesaid lords at the office "*dele Raxion Vecchie*" having heard the aforesaid Miser Felipo and Miser Alvise, and having seen the mandate at

* From the date of the foregoing affidavits it may be inferred that immediately after the recantation made by Chastel in the garden of Sir John Fry on the 7th June, Gritti and Bondumier rode post to Venice, and were the first to announce the news there.

† The instrument does not contain any allusion to Chastel's board, and is dated 7th June not 7th July.

1462.

p. 89 "Notatorio," the instrument of recantation and the falsity of the accusation, the Signory's letter to Jacomo Duodo, Consul in London, the evidence which was produced about the matter, and the invocation of the name of God from whom all integrity proceeds, they, all three of the judges, decree unanimously that the said 40*l.* first expended, and all other costs likewise incurred for the said cause, be placed to the debit of the Factory in conformity with justice and equity, and that the aforesaid Ser Piero Diedo and Ser Francesco Foscari be registered as creditors and the Factory as debtor for the sum total expended by either of them down to the present day, amounting to *l.* *s.* *d.* sterling money, of which 20*l.* *s.* *d.* belongs to Ser Francesco Foscari, and the rest to Ser Piero Duodo; for which sums, by our command, and in virtue of our letter, the Consul in London will be written to, to make them creditors and the Factory debtor.

Venice, 26th January 1462.

[*Italian.*]

April 5. Officiali alle Rason Vecchie. Notatorio 2°, c. 95. Venetian Archives.

39. AWARD of the COMMISSIONERS of the OFFICE "*de le Raxion Vechie*" for a payment to be made by the LONDON FACTORY to PIERO DIEDO.

Miser Alvise Diedo appeared before Ser Carlo Donado and Ser Marco Capello, demanding that in the credit assigned to his son, Ser Piero, for the costs of the proceedings to which he was subjected in London, there be included the expenses of one messenger from Bruges to Venice, and two from Bruges to London, besides other sums paid in Venice.

In virtue of the evidence adduced the Commissioners, ordered that the London Factory pass 57 ducats to the credit of Ser Piero Diedo.

Venice, 5th April 1462.

[*Italian.*]

June 21. Officiali alle Rason Vecchie. Notatorio 2°, c^{te}. 99. Venetian Archives.

40. The SAME COMMISSIONERS to MISER FRANCESCO BARBO, Master of one of the Flanders Galleys, CAPTAIN MISER ANZOLO DA CHA DE PEXARO, and VICE-CAPTAIN in LONDON.

Inform him that in his galley, and in the galley of his comrade (*compagno*), Miser Marcho da Leze, they have loaded eight butts malmsey, and two painted chests, in one of which are 40 earthen pots of syruped confections, and in the other 20 gilt-glass gourd-shaped flasks full of rosolio, both confections and rosolio being stowed in cotton. Request the Vice-Captain on arriving in England to have them consigned as speedily as possible to the Venetian Vice-Consul in London; the which things are to be presented to the most illustrious Majesty of the King of England, and to other personages, in the name of the most illustrious Signory, as written by them in their letter to the said Vice-Consul, which they request the Vice-Captain to deliver to him; and may God conduct them safely.

Four of the eight butts are in the Vice-Captain's galley and four in the galley of Miser Marcho da Leze.

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The chest of rosolio is in his (Barbo's) galley, and the chest of confections in the galley of Marcho da Leze.

Venice, 21st June 1462.

[*Italian.*]

June 21. Officiali alle Rason Vecchie, Notatorio 2°, c^te^ 99. Venetian Archives.

41. The SAME to LUNARDO CHAPELO, Vice-Consul in London.

On board the galley, Miser Francesco Barbo, master, have loaded four butts malmsey, and one painted chest wrapped in mat, containing 20 gilt-glass gourd-shaped flasks, filled with rosolio, stowed in cotton. Item, on board the galley, Miser Marcho da Cha da Lege, master, 4 butts malmsey, and one painted chest wrapped in mat, containing 40 earthen pots confections in syrup, stowed in cotton; viz., 20 pots green ginger, 10 pots melon, 10 pots quince. The said two chests of confections and rose water and four butts malmsey to be presented to his Majesty the King of England in the name of the most illustrious Signory; and four butts malmsey are to be given to the Chancellor [George Neville, Bishop of Exeter] and Treasurer [John, Earl of Worcester] as usual. Is to deliver them as soon as possible, and to give the office of the *Raxon Vecchie* notice of their receipt.

Venice, 21st June 1462.

[*Italian.*]

June 21. Officiali alle Rason Vecchie Notatorio 2°. c^te^ 99. Venetian Archives.

42. SHIPMENT of PRESENTS from the SIGNORY of VENICE for PHILIP THE GOOD, Duke of Burgundy, and for EDWARD IV. King of England.

Marcho Chapelo, Josafat Barbaro, and Andrea Diedo, officials of the *Rason Vecchie* to Miser Anzolo da Cha da Pexaro, Captain of the present Flanders galleys.

Have loaded on board his galley two kilderkins of malmsey, and one painted chest wrapped in mat, containing 16 earthen pots (*pignate*) confections of syrup, viz., 8 pots green ginger, 3 pots quince, and 3 pots melon, and 2 pots candied myrabolan plums (*mirabolini condidi*), and 4 gourd-shaped gilt glass flasks of rose water, all stowed in cotton, both kilderkins and chest being labelled in front with an order for their presentation on arriving in Flanders to the most illustrious Lord Duke of Burgundy, in the most illustrious Signory's name, as usual; wherefore they pray the captain to make the said present immediately on his arrival there.

Inform him also, that the London galleys have not yet been able to receive eight butts malmsey and two painted chests, because they have to stow their goods. The said butts and chests are labelled with directions for their delivery to the Venetian Consul in London, and on the captain's arrival at such place as he shall think fit, the officials of the *Rason Vecchie* pray him to order their immediate consignment, in fulfilment of the most illustrious Signory's intention. They will write to the Consul what he is to do with the aforesaid things, and pray God to grant the captain a safe passage.

Venice, 21st June 1462.

[*Italian.*]

1463.
June 21.
Officiali alle Rason Vecchie, Notatario 2°. c^te 123. Venetian Archives.

43. SHIPMENT of PRESENTS from the SIGNORY of VENICE for PHILIP THE GOOD, Duke of Burgundy, and for EDWARD IV., King of England.

Felixe Bon, Joxafat Barbaro, and Andrea Diedo, officials of the *Rason Vecchie*, to Miser Stephano Malipiero, Captain of the present Flanders galleys.

Have loaded on board his galley two kilderkins (*charattei*) malmsey, and one painted chest, wrapped in mat, containing 16 earthen pots confections in syrup, viz., 8 pots green ginger, 3 pots quince, and 3 pots melon, and 2 pots candied myrabolan plums (*marabolani chandidi*), and 4 gourd-shaped gilt glass flasks of rosolio, all stowed in cotton; both kilderkins and chest being labelled in front with the order for their being presented in Flanders to the most illustrious the Duke of Burgundy, in the name of the most illustrious Signory as usual; and they pray his "Fraternity" to make said present on his arrival.

Moreover by the London galley, Ser Polo Zorzi, master, they intend to load (*serà per mi chargatto*) eight butts malmsey, and two painted chests wrapped in mats, in one of which are 40 earthen pots confections in syrup, viz., green ginger 20 pots, melon 10 pots, and quince 10 pots, stowed in cotton, and in the other are 20 gourd-shaped gilt glass flasks of rosolio (*aqua ruoxa*) and bound in mat (*ligade in stuora*), and marked in front with an order for all the aforesaid things to be given in London to the Venetian Consul. The officials, therefore, pray the captain's "respectability" (*la vostra spectabilità*), on arriving at such place as shall seem fit to him, to be pleased to order the said Miser Polo Zorzi, master of the London galley, to have the aforesaid things delivered as speedily as possible to the aforesaid Consul, that the most illustrious Signory's intention may take effect; the officials having written to him what he will have to do with the aforesaid things; and they pray God for the said captain's safety.

Venice, 21st June 1463.

[*Italian.*]

June 21.
Officiali alle Rason Vecchie Notatorio 2° c^te 123. Venetian Archives.

44. The SAME to MISER POLO ZORZI, master of a Flanders Galley bound for London.

Confirmation of the foregoing letter to the captain of the Flanders galleys.

Venice, 21st June 1463.

[*Italian.*]

June 21.
Officiali alle Rason Vecchie Notatorio 2°. c^te. 123. Venetian Archives.

45. The SAME to MISER MARIN CONTARINI, Venetian Consul in London.

Announce shipment of 8 butts malmsey and 2 painted chests of confections and rosolio. Desire him to present to Edward IV., in the Signory's name, four butts Malmsey, and the two painted chests and their contents; the remaining four butts to be given to the Chancellor and Treasurer as usual.

1463.

Postscript.—We have consigned the things in good condition, and in good order; pay attention to their state on receiving them, and see whether it is to your satisfaction; and be pleased to give us advice of the whole.

Venice, 21st June 1463.

[*Italian.*]

1464.

June . Officiali alle Rason Vecchie Notatorio 2° c^te^ 154. Venetian Archives.

46. SHIPMENT of PRESENTS from the SIGNORY of VENICE for PHILIP THE GOOD, Duke of Burgundy, and for EDWARD IV., King of England.

Francesco Marzelo, Bernardo da Pexaro, and Piero de Priolli, officials of the *Rason Vecchie*, to Miser Stefano Erizo, Captain of the present Flanders galley.

Have loaded on board his galley two kilderkins (*charateli*) malmsey, and one painted chest containing 16 earthen pots of syruped confections, viz., 8 green ginger, 3 quince, 3 melon, and 2 candied plums (*marabolani candidi*), and four gourd-shaped gilt glass flasks of rosolio, which they request him to present as usual, on his arrival in Flanders, in the Signory's name, to the Duke of Burgundy.

Have also loaded on board the London galley, Ser Nicolo da Pexaro, master, eight butts malmsey and two painted, chests, containing 40 earthen pots, confections in syrup, viz., 20 green ginger, 10 melon, and 10 quince, and 20 gourd-shaped gilt glass flasks of rosolio, all which things they request him to order Nicolo da Pexaro to consign, as expeditiously as possible, to the Venetian Consul in London.

Venice, . . . June 1464.

[*Italian.*]

June 28. Officiali alle Rason Vecchie Notatorio 2° c^te^ 154. Venetian Archives.

47. The SAME to NICOLO DA PEXARO, Master of a Flanders galley bound for London.

Have loaded on board his galley eight butts malmsey, and two painted chests containing confections and rosolio, which he is to consign to the Venetian Vice-Consul in London.

Venice, 28th June 1464.

[*Italian.*]

June 28. Officiali alle Rason Vecchie Notatorio 2° c^te^ 154. Venetian Archives.

48. The SAME to BERNARDO JUSTIGNAN, Venetian Vice-Consul in London.

Announce shipment of the usual presents for the King of England, the Chancellor, and the Treasurer, and request him to give notice of their receipt to the office of the *Raxon Vecchie*.

Venice, 28th June 1464.

[*Italian.*]

1465.
July 26.
Officiali alle Rason Vecchie Notatorio 2° c^te 189. (Presented on the 30th July.) Venetian Archives.

49. SHIPMENT of PRESENTS from the SIGNORY of VENICE for PHILIP THE GOOD, Duke of Burgundy, and for EDWARD IV., King of England.

Bernardo Zorzi, Alessandro Contarini, and Bernardo da Cha da Pexaro, officials of the *Rason Vecchie*, to Miser Piero Arimonda, Captain of the present Flanders galley.

Have loaded on board his galley two kilderkins (*charattei*) of malmsey, and one painted chest, containing 16 earthen pots confections, viz., 8 pots green ginger, 3 pots quince, 3 pots melon, and 2 pots candied myrobolan plums (*marabolani candidi*), and four gourd-shaped gilt glass flasks of rosolio, which on his arrival in Flanders they request him to be pleased to present to the Duke of Burgundy in the name of the Signory.

They have also loaded on board the London galley, Ser Lorenzo Zane, master, eight butts malmsey, and two painted chests, in one of which are 40 earthen pots, confections in syrup, viz., 20 green ginger, 10 melon, 10 quince, and in the other 20 gourd-shaped gilt glass flasks of rosolio, all which things they request him to order Lorenzo Zane to deliver as expeditiously as possible to the Venetian Consul in London.

Venice, 26th July 1465.

[*Italian.*]

July 26.
Officiali alle Rason Vecchie Notatorio 2° c^te 189. Venetian Archives.

50. The SAME to LORENZO LANE, Master of the London galley.

Confirm the instructions respecting the eight butts malmsey and two painted chests, as in the foregoing letter.

Venice, 26th July 1465.

[*Italian.*]

July 30.
Officiali alle Rason Vecchie Notatorio 2° c^te 189. Venetian Archives.

51. The SAME to MARIN DANDOLO, Consul in London, and to his successor.

Desire him to present the malmsey, painted chests, &c., as usual, to the sacred Majesty (*ala sachra Maiestà*) of the King of England, and to the Chancellor and the Treasurer,* and to give notice of their receipt to the office of the *Rason Vecchie*.

Venice, 30th July 1465.

[*Italian.*]

1466.
July .
Officiali alle Rason Vecchie Notatorio 2° c^te 250. Venetian Archives.

52. SHIPMENT of PRESENTS from the SIGNORY of VENICE for PHILIP THE GOOD, Duke of Burgundy, and for EDWARD IV., King of England.

Piero Zem, Daniel Barbarigo, and Jeronimo Morexini, officials of the *Rason Vecchie*, to Miser Jeronimo da Molin, Captain of the present Flanders galley.

* Sir Walter Blount, afterwards Lord Montjoy. (Haydn, p. 108.)

1466.

Have loaded on board his galley two kilderkins (*charattei*) malmsey, and one painted chest, containing 16 earthen pots of syruped confections, viz., 8 green ginger, 3 quince, 3 melon, and 2 candied plums, and also 4 gourd-shaped gilt glass flasks of rosolio.

Request him, on arriving in Flanders, to present both kilderkins and chest to the Duke of Burgundy, from the Signory.

Have also loaded on board the London galley, Ser Benedetto da Cha de Pexaro, eight butts malmsey and two painted chests, the one containing 40 earthen pots confections in syrup, viz., 20 green ginger, 10 quince, 10 melon; the other, 20 gourd-shaped gilt glass flasks of rosolio.

Request Molin to desire Pexaro to consign the aforesaid things to the Venetian Consul in London, as speedily as possible.

Venice . . . July 1466.

[*Italian.*]

July 28. Officiali alle Rason Vecchie Notatorio 2° c^te^ 250. Venetian Archives.

53. The SAME to BENEDETO DA PEXARO, Master of the London galley.

Repetition of the foregoing instructions about the presents for England.

Venice, 28th July 1466.

[*Italian.*]

July 28. Officiali alle Rason Vecchie Notatorio 2° c^te^ 250. Venetian Archives. c. 250.

54. The SAME to SER MARCHO DA CHA DA PEXARO, Consul in London.

Inform him that they have loaded eight butts malmsey and two painted chests, &c., which he will present as usual to the King of England, the Chancellor, and the Treasurer, and request him to announce receipt of the said things to the office of the *Rason Vecchie.*

Venice, 28th July 1466.

[*Italian.*]

1467. July 10. Officiali alle Rason Vecchie Notatorio 2° c. 307. Venetian Archives.

55. SHIPMENT of PRESENTS from the SIGNORY of VENICE for CHARLES THE BOLD, Duke of Burgundy, and for EDWARD IV., King of England.

Jeronimo Barbarigo, Benedetto de Prioli, and Jeronimo Moroxini, officials of the *Rason Vecchie,* to Miser Luca Moro, Captain of the present Flanders galley.

Have loaded on board his galley two half barrels (*botexele*) malmsey, and one painted chest containing 16 earthen pots of syruped confections, viz., 8 green ginger, 3 quince, 3 melon, and 2 candied myrabolan plums, and 4 gourd-shaped gilt glass flasks of rosolio, all which things he will present as usual from the Signory to the Duke of Burgundy.

Have also loaded on board the London galley, Ser Marcho Justignan, master, eight butts malmsey and two painted chests containing 40 earthen pots confections in syrup, viz., 20 green ginger, 10 melon, and 10 quince, and 20 gourd-shaped gilt glass flasks of

1467.

rosolio. Request him to order Justignan to deliver all the said things to the Consul in London immediately on his arrival there.

Venice, 10th July 1467.

[*Italian.*]

July 10. Officiali alle Rason Vecchie Notatorio 2°, c. 307. Venetian Archives.

56. The SAME to MARCHO JUSTIGNAN, Master of the London galley.

Repeat the foregoing instructions for the consignment of the presents in England.

Venice, 10th July 1467.

[*Italian.*]

July 10. Officiali alle Rason Vecchie Notatorio 2°, c. 307. Venetian Archives.

57. The SAME to SER MARCHO DA PEXARO, Venetian Consul in London.

Have loaded in the Justignan galley eight butts malmsey and two painted chests, &c., which he is to present from the Signory to the King of England, and to the Chancellor and the Treasurer, and to give notice of the receipt of the said things to the office of the *Rason Vecchie.*

Venice, 10th July 1467.

[*Italian.*]

Dec. 12–31. Cancelleria Ducale, Avvisi enotizie dall' estero. Archives of Modena.

58. NEWS LETTERS from BRUGES concerning the marriage of MARGARET OF YORK to CHARLES THE BOLD, Duke of Burgundy.

The Duke of Burgundy left Liege many days ago, and went to Hui, where he had justice done upon certain persons who caused the men of Liege to enter the place when their Bishop made his escape thence last September, but the Duke does not choose the walls of the place to be dismantled, as in the said town there is a strong citadel, which will be made tenable.

The marriage of the aforesaid Duke to the sister of Edward, King of England, is said to be concluded, and recently the Duke sent him ambassadors to ascertain the dower, which will not be more than 200,000 crowns, of which he chooses to have 50,000 in ready money on the wedding day, and other 50,000 six months from that time; the rest to be paid in two years at the rate of 50,000 annually; and for this he chooses to have good security, viz., six English bishops, six Irish archbishops, and six lords, to be chosen by himself. They are supposed by this time to be agreed, but whilst awaiting the ambassadors of the King of England, who are expected here with the final decision, the Duke has sent thither as his ambassador to arrange everything, the Archdeacon of Vallon, and some time ago, as the marriage is between kinsfolk, the Duke sent to Rome for the dispensation; but as yet there is no certainty when the marriage will take place.

Great suspicion prevails between King Edward and the Earl of Warwick and all his adherents, who have gone to reside at their country seats and do not come to the King's Court, and since King Edward deprived the Earl's brother of the Chancellorship, they are

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much more estranged. The origin of this discord proceeds from the King's conferring too many honours on his brothers-in-law the Rivers (*di Riviera*), it seeming to Warwick and his followers that the King forgets, what is the fact, that without him he never would have had the crown. It is to be feared that Warwick being the popular favourite, and the people fickle as they are, they may rebel, but with the favour of the Duke of Burgundy the King's affairs are much more secure.

We are now at the 27th, and the Duke of Burgundy arrived at Brussels on the 24th, having received the Venetian Ambassador very graciously.

Letters were received today from London dated 16th December, purporting that down to that time nothing had been done about the embassy sent by the Duke of Burgundy concerning security for the dower.

The King and Queen were gone to Coventry (*Tonctri*), where they are expected to remain for some time.

Quisa, the courier of King Henry (who was imprisoned by King Edward), kinsman (*cugnato*) of Duke John, tells me constantly that ere long there will be turmoil in England; so that the King's delay in despatching the ambassador of the Duke of Burgundy will protract the marriage, nor can it any longer be expected to take place this Carnival. Some persons think the Duke will make her come across in haste.

I am now writing on the 30th December, and there are letters from London, dated the 19th, to the effect that the Duke's ambassador has arranged about the promise of dower, in which case the marriage would take place this Carnival; but from what I hear about the terms between them, and as the King is to send the bride, his sister, hither entirely at his own cost, it may be supposed the Duke will not give grand entertainments, nor incur great expense as was reported.

The Duchess of Burgundy, from what she writes to her friends, will soon be here, and bring with her her granddaughter Mademoiselle de Bourgogne, and it is thought they will remain here until the Duke arrives, as should his ambassador have stipulated with the King of England so that the bride could cross during this Carnival, the Duchess may perhaps be coming to be present at the marriage. But these affairs of King Edward are so dilatory, according to the custom of the country, that it is marvellous; I believe the cause to be in great measure that he is ill provided with money.

Having written thus far, the Archdeacon of Vallon, the Duke's ambassador, has arrived from England, but nothing can be ascertained about the dower.

Detained until the 31st, and there is nothing more to tell.

Bruges, 12–31 December 1467.

[*Italian.*]

1468.
July 13.
Officiali alle Rason Vecchie Notatorio 2°, c. 354. Venetian Archives.

59. SHIPMENT of PRESENTS from the SIGNORY of VENICE for CHARLES THE BOLD, Duke of Burgundy, and for EDWARD IV. King of England.

Jeronimo Barbarigo, Antonio Marzello, and Alvixe Querini, officials of the *Rason Vecchie*, to Miser Lorenzo Loredan, Captain of the present Flanders galley.

Have loaded on board his galley two half barrels (*botexelle*), malmsey, and one painted chest, containing 16 earthen pots of syruped confections, viz., 8 green ginger, 3 quince, 3 melon, 2 candied myrabolan plums, and 4 gourd-shaped gilt glass flasks of rosolio, which he is to present as usual from the most illustrious Signory to the most illustrious the Duke of Burgundy.

Have also loaded on board the London galley, Ser Homobon Gritti, master, eight butts malmsey, and two painted chests, the one containing 40 earthen pots confections in syrup, viz., 20 green ginger, 10 melon, 10 quince; the other 20 gourd-shaped gilt glass flasks of rosolio. Request the captain to order the master on his arrival in London immediately to deliver the aforesaid things to the Venetian Consul there.

Venice, 13th July 1468.

[*Italian.*]

July 13.
Officiali alle Rason Vecchie Notatorio 2°, c. 354. Venetian Archives.

60. The SAME to MISER HOMOBON GRITTI, Master of the London galley.

Announce shipment, as above, of things for consignment from the Signory to the consul in London.

Venice, 13th July 1468.

[*Italian.*]

July 13.
Officiali alle Rason Vecchie Notatorio 2°, c. 354. Venetian Archives.

61. The SAME to MISER POLLO DE PRIOLI, Venetian Consul in London.

Have loaded in the Gritti galley, eight butts malmsey, and two painted chests containing confections and rosolio, which he is to present, in the most illustrious Signory's name, to the sacred Majesty (*a la sacra Magiestà*) of the King of England, and to the Chancellor and Treasurer, as usual; and he is to give notice of the receipt of the things to the office of the *Rason Vecchie*.

Venice, 13th July 1468.

[*Italian.*]

1470.
July 23.
Dispacci dall' Inghilterra (*sic*). Archives of Modena.

62. BIASIO DE BIRAGO to his Lord, BORSO, DUKE OF MODENA and Reggio, Marquis of Este, and Count of Rovigo.

Recommends the bearer, Zuchino da la Chiexia, a merchant in London, who is about to visit the Duke, to whom he had given constant advices of affairs over there (*di ld*). He had also lent money to Birago when in those parts.

Ferrara, 23rd July 1470.

[*Italian.*]

1470.
Oct. 11.
Ibid.

63. The SAME to the SAME.

On the 24th of last month the Earl of Warwick crossed over to England with a large force, having only 3,000 Englishmen with him, but he was shortly joined by so many followers that his army numbered about 40,000 men. King Edward, on hearing this news, took the field with some 60,000 troops, and marched with them towards the Earl of Warwick, to whom he apparently gave battle, killing about 3,000 of his men; but as the battle took place late in the day both armies retreated. On the morrow King Edward, wishing to renew the fight, sent for all his adherents to arrange what was to be done, but it seems that nobody obeyed, so his Majesty, suspecting himself to be betrayed, as was the fact, determined to do what was best, viz., to take flight. He fled from the field privily, with a few of his gentlemen, and proceeded hitherwards, and he is now in Zealand at a village (*una villa*) called the Hague, belonging to the Duke of Burgundy. On King Edward's departure all his troops joined Warwick, who went to London, where he was received as willingly as if he had been a god; and then, with the consent of the populace (*de' popoli*), he went to take King Henry out of prison, and made him King again, the whole of England shouting, "Henry and Warwick." When this news arrived at Calais, where I was intending to cross the Channel, that place, which had adhered to King Edward, immediately rebelled and shouted "Warwick," so I was in great fear, though M. de Venloch (*sic*) kindly exhorted me to take courage; yet nevertheless expecting the Duke of Burgundy to come and encamp at Calais, and seeing my way out of it, which I effected with great difficulty, I came hither to Bruges, where I shall remain until able to cross over to England in safety, and there are many Italian merchants here awaiting passage. When able to go there without danger I shall pass the Channel to bring your Excellency a pair of good hobbies, and also those of Messer Hercule.

The Duke of Burgundy is expected here at Bruges in five or six days, and many things are said. I pray you to have my wife as recommended.

Bruges, 11th October 1470.

[*Italian.*]

1479.
July 9.
Ibid.

64. BIASIO BIRAGO to HERCULES, DUKE OF FERRARA, Marquis of Este and Count of Rovigo.

Arrived in London on the 28th June. Was told in Paris that it was impossible to go to England either by Flanders or Picardy as the Flemings are all in arms, and spare neither friends nor foes, whilst Picardy swarms with troops, who have killed several merchants on the frontiers. Went through Normandy to a place on the sea called Dieppe, where he hired a ship for himself and his horses, and put to sea. By the grace of God he made the passage in eight hours. Never did he hear so many saints invoked, nor so many litanies, and Madonnas who had wrought miracles; vows were made to all of them; and he at length landed at Winchelsea. Two days afterwards he went to London, but the

1479.

King was not there, though he arrived in a week, when Birago went immediately to Lord Scales [Anthony Widville] and told him the will and desire of Duke Hercules. Was presented by him to the King, who saw him willingly. He then adds, "I talked with his Majesty for more than an hour, and asked him for a passport, which I thus obtained, and in four days, please God, shall depart for Ireland, and hope to bring your Magnificence something agreeable. The Duke of Burgundy being dead, it is now intended to make election of a Knight of the Garter (*di uno*) in his stead, and I have so contrived with Biasio (*ho tramato con Biasio*) that I really believe your Magnificence will be a Knight of that Order (*sarà del dito hordinj*); the election is to be made between the King of Spain and your Magnificence, who will, I think, have the plurality of votes.

London, 9th July 1479.

(Signed) Servulus Blaxus Biragus.

[*Italian.*]

1480. June 15. Lettere a Principi Esteri. Archives of Modena.

65. HERCULES, DUKE OF FERRARA, Modena, and Reggio, Marquis of Este and Count of Rovigo, to the KING OF ENGLAND (Edward IV.)

Sacred and Most Serene Royal Majesty, my most revered Father and Lord.

Would that my fluency and eloquence were such as not only to express the intense joy and incredible pleasure of my mind, but also to enable me to return such thanks as I feel are due from me to your Majesty, so that I cannot find terms sufficiently dignified for the subject. But I am so elate with joy because your Majesty in person, of your own accord, with consummate graciousness and liberality, elected me a fellow knight and fellow brother of your Order of the Garter, and, besides giving me so rare and great a gift, sent me the magnificent and most excellent knight, Sir Lawrence Raynsford, your councillor and ambassador, that in your Majesty's name he might thus invest me with this illustrious honour, that, owing so much to your Majesty, I confess I am by no means able to render adequate thanks, my faculties and powers (*vires*) being insufficient to deserve even any part of this most precious and most acceptable gift; though to the best of my ability I most gratefully, joyfully, and respectfully received the insignia and the statutes, and promised and do promise to observe all their contents; and as I always have been, so for the future do I openly profess myself your Majesty's most obsequious and most devoted son and servant, my thanks, if less than what I owe, being at least such as are in my power, and very great and eternal.

I received the Magnifico your ambassador (*legatum*) with extreme joy and delight, treating him honourably, as it behoved me out of regard for your Majesty, to whom, in my name, he will give intense thanks, thus supplying the omissions in this letter. Requests credence for Sir Lawrence Raynsford and for himself, whom he recommends very greatly to the King.

1480.

(Signed) Son and servant Hercules, Duke of Ferrara, Modena, and Reggio, Marquis of Este and Count of Rovigo, etc.

Ferrara, 15th June 1480.

[*Italian.*]

1492. May 24. St. Mark's Library. Venice.

66. FLANDERS GALLEYS.

It was heard that the ship Malipiera, and the one of Ser Beneto Zustignan, had arrived in Flanders, as also the Flanders galleys, Captain Ser Piero Balbi, which news was good.

[*Sanuto's Autograph Lives of the Doges, Vol.* 3, *p.* 340.]

[*Italian.*]

Sept. 11. St. Mark's Library.

67. FLANDERS GALLEYS.

There arrived in this town three galleys from Flanders, Captain Ser Jacomo Venier, *quondam* Bernardo, they having been twenty-five months on the voyage [out and home ?]

[*Sanuto's Autograph Lives of the Doges, Vol.* 3, *p.* 349.]

[*Italian.*]

Nov. 25. St. Mark's Library.

68. PEACE between ENGLAND and FRANCE.

Advice was received of an adjustment between the King of France and the King of England, and that peace had been made between them.

[*Sanuto's Autograph Lives of the Doges, Vol.* 3, *p.* 351.]

[*Italian.*]

Dec. 10. Avvisi e notizie dall' estero. Archives of Modena.

69. NEWS LETTER from FRANCE.

The King of France is induced to make peace with Spain, restoring Roussillon, at the persuasion of a Calabrese hermit, owing to the serious indisposition of the Queen.

The articles have been drawn up with the Spanish ambassador, with the addition of certain clauses not comprised in his commission, it being stipulated that they are liable to the approval of the King of Spain; and M. de Clerci has been sent to Spain to have them sworn to by the King and Queen and by their eldest son, and by three of the chief cities, videlicet, Valentia, Barcelona, and Saragossa, so that the peace between them may be more durable and perpetual.

The substance of these clauses purports that the aforesaid sovereigns of Spain may not contract affinity with the King of England and the King of the Romans.

On the 4th instant the English ambassadors arrived; they were honourably received, and on the morrow had audience of the King, and swore to the peace.

The King of England is still at Calais, whither the King of the Romans went to confer with him, for the purpose, it is supposed, of arranging through his medium the affairs of his son, the Archduke Philip, with the King of France, the King of the Romans, for his own honour, not choosing to be mentioned, which is by so much the more

1492.

credible as the King of England sent word to the King of France not to doubt his goodwill on account of this interview, as he perseveres firmly in his purpose of keeping the peace sworn to by him, and intends to try and effect a reconciliation between the King of the Romans and his Majesty.

The King of France, who had at first intended to go into Picardy to lay siege to Arras, will not proceed beyond Paris, towards which city he is now journeying.

The King of Naples being included by the King of England in the peace with France, the French King refused to accept him, but at length consented, under protest, that by this oath he did not mean to be prevented from acting against any nominee, holding what is his by right; nor would he in like manner allow the Spanish ambassador to name the King of Naples in the articles of the peace, although he urged it.

Tours, 10th December 1492. Received on the 21st.

[*Italian.*]

1493.

Jan. 16. St. Mark's Library. Venice.

70. RETURN of HENRY VII. to ENGLAND.

News arrived from England that King Henry had returned to the island after making peace with the King of France, who promised to give him the annual tribute (*censo*) of 1,000 crowns. King Henry was ill looked on in the kingdom, and all the English were dissatisfied, because to wage the war on France he had taken much money from the people, which was not expended, and he made peace in order to keep the money for himself.

[*Sanuto's Autograph Lives of the Doges, Vol.* 3, *p.* 352.]

[*Italian.*]

1497.

March 8. Avvisi e notizie dall' estero. Archives of Modena.

71. NEWS LETTER from ENGLAND, translated into Italian out of French.

The King of Scotland made two attempts (*tractati*) lately against the King of England, both of which brought him loss and shame, and honour to the King of England.

The first attempt was that the King of Scotland ordered his Lord Chamberlain with 3,000 good troops, the greater part of them being of the King's household and of the chief nobility of Scotland, to burn and plunder certain good places (*bone ville*) subject to the King of England, but the neighbouring peasantry soon armed and drove them back to the river which divides the two countries, capturing or killing more than 700 of them, without counting those who were drowned in the said river, nor is it yet known for certain whether the Chamberlain and his son are safe or not, many persons suspecting them to have been drowned with the others. The English standard (*standardo*) was . . . * at Nondre (*sic*) in the direction of the King's Majesty.

The second attempt (*tractato*), which very speedily followed the other, seems to have been that the King of France sent as his am-

* Some parts of this letter are illegible from mildew.

1497.

bassador a monk, of the order called in France "Mathurins of Paris," the which monk, pretending to make an agreement between the King of England and the King of Scotland, sent to the Captain of Berwick, which place is in custody of the King of England, and under his protection. Towards Christmas (*sotto chremta*) the said monk having arrived with other ambassadors of the King of Scotland in the said place of Berwick, the captain gave them great greeting, lodging them in the castle; and one Sunday the said monk, with the others, when the said captain went to mass, sent for 500 Scots, who were in ambuscade, to give them the castle, they being assisted by some Englishmen of Berwick, and as it pleased God the said attempt (*il dicto tractato*) was discovered . . . . . The said captain had all the King's subjects beheaded (*decapitare*), except the ambassador, whom he keeps in good custody until he gets a reply from his master.

Before the 8th of March my master's Majesty will have in readiness a great army both by sea and land against the said King of Scotland, and will have 40 large ships at sea, and 60 smaller ones, eight of them being already in the River Trent (*in la rivera di Tranto*) to blockade (*assediare*) the principal place in Scotland, called Edinburgh, where the said King of Scotland was.

The Lord Chamberlain of our King was to depart after Easter with 12,000 combatants, to join 15,000 others on the borders of Scotland, and on the 1st of May the King will follow with 32,000 men, his Majesty having amassed 300,000*l.* sterling, equal to a million and a half of gold crowns, with which to make war on the said King of Scotland. It is hoped in God that ere long he will have made an end of the said realm of Scotland, as his quarrel is both just and fair, and thus do I pray God that it may come to pass.

England, 8th March 1497.

[*Italian.*]

1498.

Sept. 3. Lettere di Principi esteri. Archives of Modena.

72. HENRY VII., KING OF ENGLAND, to his very dear brother and friend the LORD HERCULES, DUKE OF FERRARA, Modena, &c.

The prudent and circumspect Biasio de Birago, who was sent to us by you a short while ago, being now on his return to your Highness, we can by no means allow him to depart hence without our letters, although we wrote to your Sublimity recently both about his coming to us and on account of your letter and choice present of two falcons.

Inasmuch as the said Biasio asked us to empower him to cross over to our Lordship (*Dominium*) of Ireland, and to purchase hobbies (*equos obinos*) for your Highness, and bring them with him, not only did we grant his petition very willingly, but also recommended him very strongly to our Lord Deputy there, desiring him to render every sort of assistance and favour, both for the purchase of the said horses and for their transport, and for whatever else he might require.

The said Biasio has now returned with some amblers (*cum nonnullis graduariis equis*), which we hope are good and high couraged; but from the present turmoil and constant wars of the wild Irish

1498.

amongst themselves, there is forsooth a great scarcity there of good horses, so that had we ourselves any fine ones we should have immediately made your Sublimity partaker of them; but of those we possess, although not such as we could wish, we send your Highness two, not as a gift, but that you may accept them as a certain pledge and testimony of our especial and fraternal love for you, for if there is anything else in our dominions which can either gratify or please your fraternity, scruple not to demonstrate it to us, as there is nothing in our power which we would not most readily do for your Highness, whose felicity and prosperity rejoice us like our own. May your Highness be as happy as you can desire, and any assurance of the well-being of your State and your affairs will always prove most pleasant to us.

Cambridge, 3rd September 1498.

(Signed) Henricus.

[*Latin.*]

Oct. 19. Despatches from England. Archives of Modena.

73. BIASIO DE BIRAGO to DUKE HERCULES OF FERRARA.

Wrote to him from Antwerp announcing his arrival there, and today got safe to Basle, where he must remain three or four days for the need of some of the horses, which are 12 in number. Is endeavouring to find money to get to Milan; requests that pecuniary supply may be sent him in advance, as the cost is great, amounting to four ducats per day, exclusive of duties and safe conducts, which consume much money, so that for want of it he is sometimes in despair.

Basle, 19th October 1498.

(Signed) Servitor et famulus Blaxius de Birago.

[*Italian.*]

1509.

Jan. 27. Council of Ten "Misti," Register 32, p. 64. Venetian Archives.

74. EMBASSY to ENGLAND at the time of the LEAGUE of CAMBRAI.

Motion made in the Council of Ten and Junta by the Chiefs Sebastian Contarini, Lorenzo Priuli, and Francesco Bragadino.

Put to the ballot, that considering what had been declared about the security and defence of our State, there be elected forthwith a noble of ours to go secretly and with all speed to the King of England, at the expense of our Government, with such commission as shall seem most expedient to this Council.

Ayes, 26; noes, 3; neutral, 0.

Elected, Hironimo Giustinian (son of the late Ser Antonio), who declined.

[*Latin.*]

1512.

May 18. Council of Ten "Misti." Register 35, p. 27 tergo. Venetian Archives.

75. MOTION concerning AMBASSADORS to ENGLAND and SPAIN, made in the COUNCIL of TEN and JUNTA.

It has been carried to give for the despatch of the noble Francesco Capello, Knight, our ambassador going to England, and of Giovanni Badoer, LL.D., ambassador appointed to the King of Spain, 1,420 ducats, to be taken from the chamber of this Council, out of the fund appointed for that purpose, derived from the 30 and 40 per cents.

1512.

Be it moreover carried that the bank, which will do the like to the amount of 120 ducats for each of the said ambassadors monthly, be given security to that amount on the 30 and 40 per cents. as soon as paid in from month to month.

Ayes, 19; noes, 7; neutral, 0.

[*Latin.*]

1527.
Nov. 30.
Cancelleria Ducale. Archives of Modena.

76. INSTRUCTIONS given by ALFONSO I., DUKE OF FERRARA, to HIRONIMO FERROFINO, accredited by him to King HENRY VIII. and CARDINAL WOLSEY.

To go postwise with all possible speed to England, and on arrival to ascertain where the King and the Right Reverend the Cardinal of York the Legate are, the which Lord Cardinal usually resides in London. To apply to his Right Reverend Lordship, endeavouring to be introduced to him by one of those two friends for whom you take letters. On entering the Cardinal's presence, to kiss his hand in my name and deliver my letter of credence to him. To tell him that although Messer Gregory Cassalis, the King's ambassador, will by letter have acquainted him that I willingly join the Holy League, yet I have thought fit to send you to England to kiss his hands and thank him for the paternal love and gracious patronage always granted by him to me, and so I beseech him to persevere in keeping me always under that protection which has been promised me by all the confederates of the most Holy League, assuring his Right Reverend Lordship that he may dispose of me as of a most obsequious son and servant.

You will then pray him to have you introduced to the King, so that you may also do as commissioned by me with his Majesty, and you will say that I desired you to remain at that Court as a mark of the devoted service rendered by me to the King and to his Right Reverend Lordship.

Having presented yourself as soon as possible to the King, after delivering my letter of credence, you will tell his Majesty that I recommend myself very humbly to his Grace, and that I have sent you on purpose to thank him in my name for having deigned, together with the other allied princes and lords, to give me place, and receive me into the most Holy Union and League.

After this you will say that you are commissioned to reside at his Majesty's Court in token of the very obsequious service I bear him (*che io le porto*).

You have also to pay my respects to the Queen his Consort, and to make her my humble recommendations; doing the like by the Queen of France, now the Consort of the Duke of Suffolk, should she be at the Court; and to visit the said Duke if you see him, making him offers and recommendations in my name.

As by the articles and convention made with the confederate Princes and Lords, I was promised protection from all of them, in the form of the article of which I gave you a copy, you will tell the Right Reverend Lord Legate, that besides the ratification of the instrument stipulated at Ferrara, I desire that his Right Reverend

1527.

Lordship should deign to obtain for me an especial protection, in writing from that most potent King, and also from his said Right Reverend Lordship, according to the rescript (*lo rescripto*) which I have given you, which is in conformity with the said article; and for this you will say that I shall feel eternally obliged to him.

You will also visit in our name, the Magnifico the Venetian Ambassador, and commune with him courteously.

You have also, in the name of my sons, to kiss the hands of the aforesaid most potent King and of the Right Reverend Legate; and in virtue of their letters of credence return due thanks for the commissions made to me for their benefit and favour, as they ordered you by word of mouth, recommending them to his Majesty, and to his Right Reverend Lordship as their most devoted servants.

Ferrara? 30th November 1527.

[*Italian.*]

Nov. 30. Cancelleria Ducale. Istruzioni agli Oratori, &c. Archives of Modena.

77. SECOND INSTRUCTION from ALFONSO, DUKE OF FERRARA, to HIERONIMO FERROFINO, his Ambassador in England.

Turn the plural into the first person singular, where necessary. (*Voltate in singolare quel che bisogna*).

After you have executed the commissions in the instruction received by you, you will present yourself to the King, and tell his Majesty that we wish him to grant us permission to purchase in Ireland, and export thence for transmission, as many as eight hobby-mares (*cavalle-ubine*) and two hobby-stallions (*et dui ubini*) to breed from; and that we may be better served, be his Majesty pleased to commission his Master of the Horse to give you for this purpose such direction (*indirizzo*) and favour as necessary, as I shall consider it a very great kindness. Should his Majesty grant it me, as I trust he will, you will then betake yourself to the aforesaid Master of the Horse, presenting him with my letter of credence in your name, and praying his Lordship of his courtesy to assist and favour me, for the immediate attainment of this my wish, offering to do yet more for his Lordship, should it be in our power to gratify him in any way. On obtaining leave to purchase and export them, let us know at what time you think we may send for the conveyance hither of the said hobby-mares and stallions, which should be of the following descriptions, viz.:—

The mares to be young, from four to five years old, and in foal (*pregne*), and to be procured by a man who understands about them; so that they may be purchased of fine shape (*de bella fattezza*) and of the best sort to be got; but their coats may be of any colour, except white. The two hobby-stallions need not be so young, though care must be taken that they be not too old, and above all that they may be handsome and of easy pace (*et habbino andar suave*); and their coats to be pied, but without any white (*di mantello lodaro* (sic) *purchè non sia bianco*); but there will be time to get those two hobby-stallions when the mares are sent for.

Ferrara? 30th November 1527.

[*Italian.*]

1528.
Feb. 9.
Cancelleria Ducale, Dispacci dall' Inghilterra. Archives of Modena.

78. HIRONIMO FERRUFINO to ALFONSO I., DUKE OF FERRARA.

Owing to the incessant and important occupations of the Lord Cardinal, especially since the arrival at this Court of the Prothonotary de Gambara, and also on account of the law time, which they call terms [Hilary term], I have not been conceded the opportunity of conferring with him to hear what he shall tell me about your Excellency's affairs, after having discussed them with the King, to whom he went again today, when, according to an answer received yesterday from Messer Peter Vannes (who is the very attached servant of your Excellency) as by the enclosed note, I expected to have had notice.

The aforesaid Prothonotary has been twice to the King, with the Cardinal, and the first time they remained a night at the Court; what I have been able to elicit about his negotiation is, that the Pope insists positively (*omninamente*) on Ravenna and Cervia, and if unable to get back those cities through the Kings of France and England, he will endeavour to obtain them from the Emperor; about which I hear that the King and Cardinal spoke very warmly to the Venetian Ambassador; and moreover that they themselves are writing particularly to the most illustrious Signory about the restitution of . . . . . *

Concerning the affairs of Florence, the Pope says that he shall not speak farther about them.

The Prothonotary is expected to depart tomorrow.

The news from Spain does not give much hope of peace. The English ambassador at the Imperial court lately recommended the English merchants trading in Spain to remove their goods from that kingdom to places safer for them.

London, 9th February 1528.

[*Italian, signed.*]

Feb. 12.
Cancelleria Ducale, Dispacci dall' Inghilterra. Archives of Modena.

79. The SAME to the SAME.

Last night the King had the Imperial ambassador arrested, because the Emperor had arrested all the ambassadors resident with his Majesty. Then today, the King being in this Lord Legate's house, where he had passed last night, he and the Cardinal sent for all the other ambassadors here, to whom, I believe, they made the same discourse as was made by his Right Reverend Lordship to me before he saw the King, when he told me I was to write to your Excellency that all the offers and many good conditions proposed on behalf of the most Christian and of this most serene King to the Emperor to dispose him towards peace had not sufficed, but that being as it were quite blinded he was determined on war, and had caused the ambassadors accredited to him arrested; wherefore his most noble Majesty has resolved to wage it on him with all his might (*totis viribus*), both for the benefit and freedom of Italy, as also for the universal benefit of the League, and exhorts your Excellency not to fail on your part to assist and augment the common forces of the

* Illegible.

1528.

confederates to expel the hostile forces, most especially as it concerns the universal interest. Having replied that I would write as commanded by his most illustrious Lordship, I did not omit to repeat briefly the substance and summary of what you wrote me in your letters of the 29th December and 5th January; whereupon the Cardinal said and repeated that I was to write to you that the Holiness of our Lord was content to have the matters between his Holiness and your Excellency referred to the most Christian and to this King, which he persuaded himself you would not disapprove, owing to the great reliance to be placed in their Majesties, and also because this [King] (*questo*) is bound by the confederation, for which reasons they hope your Excellency will not fail to disburse the contribution, although all that was promised has not been entirely fulfilled, relying on its performance, to demonstrate to these Majesties the great reliance placed by you in them. Whilst I was talking thus with the Cardinal, the King made his appearance, and I having kissed his hand, he said to me that as from his Right Reverend Lordship I must have heard what is required, and what he (the King) wishes your Excellency to do, he would therefore merely tell me to write the whole very warmly to you without dilating farther on the subject; and mounting on horseback immediately, he went to a house of the Cardinal's, distant seven miles from this city.

London, 12th February 1528.

[*Italian, signed.*]

March 13. Cancelleria Ducale. Minute di lettere agli Oratori in Inghilterra. Archives of Modena.

80. ALFONSO I., DUKE OF FERRARA, to HIRONIMO FERRUFINO.

The bearer of this letter is my falconer Ludovico, surnamed Bighetto, whom I am sending to bring hither those hobby-mares. See to despatch him well, and send him back as quickly as possible; and it will be well for you to see him and present him in your company to that most potent King, so that as a person come fresh from me, he may make my humble recommendation to his Majesty.

13th March 1528. [*No local date.*]

[*Draft, Italian.*]

May 3. Cancelleria Ducale. Dispacci dall' Inghilterra. Archives of Modena.

81. HIRONIMO FERRUFINO to ALFONSO I., DUKE OF FERRARA.

The day before yesterday, the 1st of May, there arrived here your Excellency's falconer Ludovico, and the stable servant Bagnolo, they from lack of any passport from the most Christian King having been under arrest during 15 days at Abbeville by the Lord Lieutenant of Picardy, who sent all Ludovico's letters to the Court, which were all returned with orders to let him proceed on his journey; so he came safe and sound, and from him I received three of your Excellency's letters dated 7th March, one of the 10th, and one of the 13th, together with letters for the Right Reverend Legate, for the Duke of Suffolk, for the Master of the Horse, and for Messer Peter Vannes. I shall be unable to see the Cardinal before the 4th of this month, according to an answer received yesterday, and today his Right Reverend Lordship is going to the King, who has again returned to Greenwich. After delivering your Excellency's

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messages to the Cardinal, I will do the like by the King, to whom I will endeavour simultaneously to present Ludovico, so that having recently arrived he may according to your intimation, announce your humble remembrances. Since my arrival in this kingdom the Duke of Suffolk has not been to the Court until two days ago. If possible I will see his most illustrious Lordship, and also the Master of the Horse, as soon as may be. I am very sorry the hobby-mares have not yet arrived, concerning which I did everything possible as in duty bound, and inform your Excellency that when his Majesty spoke to him (the Duke) about them his Lordship desired me to write to you to send your servant (*homo*) hither in six weeks, and I thought it well to extend the period; he is not now at the Court, but will be there in two days. Ludovico and I will then be with his Lordship immediately, and not fail to use all diligence, so that he (Ludovico) may be enabled to return with all speed to your Excellency's satisfaction.

If, in my letter of the 12th February, I did not explain myself clearly and expressly, that the Lord Cardinal told me to write to your Excellency that the Pope was content to refer the affairs to the judgment and arbitration of this most potent King and of the most Christian (King), I regret this not a little, as in the reply given me in one of your said letters of the 7th, your Excellency has very well answered me (*mi ha risoluto molto bene*). The letter of the 10th February, which you say you sent, has never arrived, but I got one of the 8th of that month, whereby your Excellency gave me the same order, that then, in the name of the Lord Don Hercule and by commission from his Lordship, I was to perform the office with Cardinal Wolsey, whose Right Reverend Lordship evinced so much satisfaction at the marriage, and at the good state in which your Excellency's affairs stand, and at having heard from Dr. Stephen [Gardiner] of your good bodily health, that *nihil supra.*

The reason of my not going to the King is that the Cardinal told me that his Majesty still remains in retirement, and will not admit any public person, having determined thus to continue during the whole of this month. In the meanwhile, as I have said, Ludovico will go thither alone, and do what is requisite with his Majesty for the present, as about him there will, I imagine, be no scruple.*

London, 3rd May 1528.

[*Italian, signed.*]

May 20. Cancellaria Ducale, Dispacci dall' Inghilterra. Archives of Modena.

82. HIRONIMO FERRUFINO to ALFONSO I., DUKE OF FERRARA.

Yesterday the King sent me word to take patience until today, when, after having dined with his Majesty (*poi desinato con soa Maestà*), I petitioned him according to your Excellency's command, though not quite so diffusely as in my conversation with the Cardinal, it not being the custom here to negotiate with his Majesty, who, although he may be spoken to about important matters.

* In an omitted letter of the 12th May, Ferrufino wrote from London to the Duke of Ferrara that when the Emperor dismissed the herald Clarencieux, at Burgos, in January 1528, he gave him a collar and 500 ducats.

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refers himself concerning them to the Lord Cardinal. I nevertheless hinted to him what seemed to me of the greatest consequence, but all I could elicit in reply was, that with regard to the affairs between the Pope and your Excellency, provided there be a little moderation, means would be found for adjusting them; to which I rejoined that the true moderation would be for his Holiness to ratify what was promised in his name to your Excellency, and that it costs the Pope nothing, as he does not give what belongs to him, the places having been in your most illustrious family for centuries; wherefore your Excellency beseeches his Majesty's most noble Grace that as under his guarantee (*sotto la fede di essa*) the said promises were made, so should he also deign to interfere for their fulfilment and observance; but his Majesty almost with a smile answered in conformity with his first reply, that he will find some mode of adjustment (*che trovarà qualche modo di accordare*).

Then with regard to his Majesty's ratification and protection, he referred me to the reply of these Right Reverend Cardinal.

Having discussed the aforesaid matters with his Majesty, he told me he had written to the King of France about preventing the coming of the Germans, as I had heard from the Cardinal; and he then deigned to have read to me the copy of a letter dated Gaeta, the 2nd instant, from Cardinal Colonna to Cardinal Campeggio, announcing the victory over the Imperial Neapolitan fleet.

After despatching the aforesaid business I sent for the Falconer Ludovico, and having told the King the object of his mission introduced him, when he kissed his Majesty's hands in your Excellency's name for the favour he granted you to export the hobby-mares and stallions, presenting your humble recommendations; thereupon the King asked him how you were when he left you, and then laughing his Majesty said, "Master Louis, you are come into this country and have not brought me a falcon;" to which Louis replied that he had brought one for his Majesty's household (*per li soy*), but not for the King, who, at any rate for the present, could dispense with it, this being the moulting season (*hora essendo il tempo de la muda*).

London, 20th May 1528.

[*Italian, signed.*]

June 4. Cancelleria Ducale, Dispacci dall' Inghilterra. Archives of Modena.

83. HIRONIMO FERRUFINO to ALFONSO I., DUKE OF FERRARA.

The accompanying packet will be taken as far as Paris by M. de Morrette, nor concerning the statement made by me about the contribution can I add anything to what I said before, save that from what I can elicit his Majesty here will be content to make it, although he has not yet formed his final resolve, owing to certain difficulties about the negotiation of the truce, which hitherto for this cause, or for others, be it as it may, remains imperfect.

By my foregoing letters I wrote to your Excellency about the arrangement made by me with the Master of the Horse to send the Falconer Ludovico to Ireland with one of his Lordship's men, should these blessed and tedious mares (*benedette et longhe giumente*) not make their appearance within a few days; and now, as they have not yet arrived, it seeming well to me that Ludovico should no

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longer delay going thither, his Lordship sent me word that it would be hazardous, as either on the passage or on the journey he might miss the mares, which must have been already purchased and shipped, but that as both the passage and the journey are not very good it is not to be wondered at if they are slow to arrive. This delay is the more vexatious to me, by reason of the brief period in which the Master of the Horse made me write to your Excellency that they would be here; so that I shall not be at ease until I see them, or such provision as necessary be made in case of their non-appearance.

London, 4th June 1528.

[*Italian.*]

June 13. Cancelleria Ducale. Dispacci dall' Inghilterra. Archives of Modena.

84. The SAME to the SAME.

Two ambassadors have arrived from Madame Margaret to negotiate the truce between England, France, and Flanders, for the conclusion of which, since the departure of M. de Morette, they are awaiting the consent of the most Christian King, which I hear has been received, but it is understood that there are some other difficulties, requiring a fresh reply from his Majesty.*

Two days ago I received news that the mares had crossed the sea, and are now 180 miles hence, where the person in charge of them was to rest for four or five days, and then come on gently, having also with him some hobbies for the King, who is sending them to his most Christian Majesty.

London, 13th June 1528.

[*Italian, signed.*]

June . Cancellaria Ducale. Dispacci dall' Inghilterra. Archives of Modena.

85. The SAME to the SAME.

After many difficulties the truce has been concluded between the Kings of England and France, and the Flemings, on the 15th instant, place being reserved in it for the Duke of Guelders, but under certain conditions, the nature of which I cannot yet particularize farther. The most Christian King wished to comprise him in the said truce at once, but the agents of Madame Margaret would merely consent to leave the aforesaid place for him, and conditionally.

As to the contribution of the King of England it will certainly take place, and will amount to 30,000 or 33,000 crowns per month.

In my foregoing letters I wrote that the blessed and tedious hobby-mares (*le benedette et longhe giumente ubine*) had arrived on this side of the sea, which I now confirm, although subsequently I have heard nothing. The Falconer and I will wait for 10 or 12 days, on whose expiration should we neither see nor hear anything certain about them, we will have recourse to such expedient as shall seem fitting to us. We have bought a bay hobby, from six to seven year old, lately arrived from Ireland, and of very good and handsome presence, his paces also being soft and agreeable, though

* Then follow 12 lines in cypher without any key.

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his forelegs are swollen (*tuttavia davanti sente digalla*), but he does not suffer from it (*non già ch'el si doglia*).

We thought it well not to omit making the purchase, by so much the more as good and suitable hobbies are difficult to find, and the cost being only 23 . . . . . * (crowns ?). We had also some idea of buying another from a Florentine dealer, but renounced it, because his price was 60 crowns; so Ludovico and I are near getting something to the purpose, and which will satisfy your Excellency, who may rest assured that Ludovico and Messer Hannibal, the King's farrier, and who is your Excellency's subject, do not fail to use in this matter all possible assiduity.

London, . . . June 1528.

[*Italian, signed.*]

June 30.

Cancelleria Ducale. Dispacci dall' Inghilterra. Archives of Modena.

86. HIRONIMO FERRUFINO to ALFONSO I., DUKE OF FERRARA.

The truce was subsequently proclaimed and published, and from what I hear it comprises also Spain, amongst "the parts of these seas contiguous to England," which is supposed to have ensued on account of the merchants. With the Flemings it is understood to take effect both by sea and land. The Duke of Guelders has been utterly excluded from it by reason of certain towns held by him belonging to some German bishop.

The contribution of the King of England for six months amounts to 200,000 crowns; for the two first months he releases to the most Christian King the pension due from France to England, and the residue will be disbursed by his Majesty in monthly instalments.

In my last letters I omitted to tell your Excellency of a new malady then rife in this kingdom called the sweating sickness, said to have commenced A.D. 1480, in the lifetime of the late King (*sic*). A sound man is seized with it in one moment, and in 24 hours is despatched, as it either leaves him free as if nothing whatever had ailed him, or else he dies of it, as many do, in one, two, or three hours, more or less, according to their excesses; and as neither Avicenna nor Hippocrates make any mention of it there are still wanting any medicinal remedies, and example alone indicates its cure, which is to go to bed immediately on the attack, and to remain covered without ever stirring for 24 hours, and those who either cannot or have not the patience to remain so long immovable expire, provided they have the true sweating sickness, for many perspire from fear and imagination. The King goes moving frequently from place to place, as does also the Lord Cardinal, who came hither lately for the law terms, but departed very speedily. Two of the King's gentlemen of the chamber (*gentilhomini di la camera*) have died, one by name Master Cary, the other Master Poynes, the which Poynes was the person who conducted me to my first audience of his Majesty, and was considered as polite (*gentile*) a person as any of his colleagues in this kingdom.

It is reported that the Queen likewise has had this disease, but this I do not know for certain. I understand that at the com-

* Illegible in MS.

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mencement of this distemper 10,000 persons fell sick of it in this city in one day and night. It is impossible to ascertain the number of deaths, but I am told that they never exceeded 300 [per diem?] (*che non ne sono morti mai più di trecento*). The Master of the Horse has had it recently, as also many others of the King's gentlemen, so that only two of his privy chamber escaped it. His Majesty remains, therefore, as secluded as possible.

So soon as we can betake ourselves where the Master of the Horse is, Ludovico and I will go to him to arrange about the mares, and in one way or another come to an end of the business, which has caused me much regret, though it was really impossible for me to do more than I have done.

London, 30th June 1528.

[*Italian, signed.*]

Aug. 6. Cancellaria Ducale, Archives of Modena.

87. The SAME to the SAME.

His Majesty has paid 30,000 crowns through the most Christian King on account of his contribution; and an ambassador has arrived here from the Vaivod, King of Hungary, who has accredited him to the King of France, and he is accompanied by the French ambassador returning from the King of Poland. I visited both of them. All I have been able to elicit about what he is going to negotiate with the most Christian King is that it relates to the Vaivod's flourishing position, and to the conspiracy formed by the Duke of Saxony and the Landgrave, and other Lords of Germany, against Ferdinand, King of Bohemia; or else he is to make suggestions and propose terms to the King of France, whereby to establish the affairs of Hungary in favour of the Vaivod, and to impair and annihilate those of the King of the Romans.

The mares from Ireland have not yet made their appearance, so I have despatched your Excellency's falconer Ludovico with Master Hannibal, the Modenese, the King's farrier, who have gone into the county of Stafford (*Stanford*), 150 miles hence, to purchase some, it being heard for certain that better ones are to be found there than in any other part of this island. On their return hither no more time shall be lost in sending Ludovico.

London, 6th August 1528.

[*Italian.*]

Aug. 17. Cancellaria Ducale, Archives of Modena.

88. The SAME to the SAME.

Ludovico, the falconer, and Hannibal, the King's farrier, went lately to purchase mares in Yorkshire, which I misnamed Stanford. I expect Ludovico back in five or six days, and I hope well provided with cattle of this country, those from Ireland having never appeared, nor can it be wondered at, as the population there is topsy turvy, and in arms one against the other, like wild and irrational beings as they are (*come persone salvatiche et irrationabili che sono*).

The Master of the Horse has done everything possible to procure horses from Ireland, although his Lordship declares that the mares of

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England surpass them, and really his Lordship evinces great earnestness about your Excellency's affairs, as you well know.

The King is still in the country with few attendants, as your Excellency will comprehend from the fact that the French ambassador on his return from Poland, and the Hungarian ambassador accredited to France, are departing thither today without having spoken to his Majesty, who for some days has not admitted any public personage, although the sweating sickness is at an end, but there are still some few cases of plague, which keep the King and Cardinal thus secluded; so I have no opportunity for taking your Excellency's letters to them, though they will have had the Italian news from the Bishop of Bayonne*; but before Ludovico's departure I will take him to the King and Cardinal to receive their commands.

The Secretary Vali [Peter Vannes?] agrees with opinion that the delay in the matter of the "ratification" and "protection," practised (*usata*) by the King and Cardinal with such regard for the Pope, is on account of the new marriage, rather than any other cause, which marriage is expected eventually to take place, when the King, having obtained what he wants from the Pope, will do by your Excellency what is due to you.

London, 17th August 1528.

[*Italian.*]

Sept. 3 (?) Cancellaria Ducale, Archives of Modena.

89. HIRONIMO FERRUFINO to ALFONSO I., DUKE OF FERRARA.

I am now able to announce the return of the falconer Ludovico, though not that he has yet departed. A week ago he came from Yorkshire with Master Hannibal, the Modenese, the King's farrier, with the mares, which I have seen; they are good goers, and will, I hope, give your Excellency satisfaction. Could dappled ones have been found of handsomer shape I should have preferred them, and amongst the eight I am assured that three are Irish. Yesterday the Master of the Horse sent on behalf of his King to make your Excellency a present of the said mares, together with a handsome dark brown (*morello*) Irish hobby, which is a good goer, and besides the good offices performed by his Lordship in this matter, he made many apologies to me for the time lost, and also for not having been able to provide your Excellency with the mares from Ireland as ordered by his King, but that he could do nothing more, nor was it to be wondered at that they could not be got, as the wild Irish on that island had seized the King's governor. I replied as becoming, and wrote subsequently to thank him both for the gift made in his Majesty's name, and for the good demonstrations made by himself, and for the trouble he had taken for your Excellency.

Ludovico will now go to the Court to kiss the King's hand, and obtain a passport from the Master of the Horse. He will depart in six days, and Bagnolo will take good care of the hobby stallions and the mares which are with foal (*le quale hanno li . . . credi con loro*).

* Jean de Bellai. (See Venetian Calendar, iv. 124, footnote.)

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Having been to the Cardinal at Hampton Court to know whether he had any commands for Ludovico, he said he wished he had hopes that the Pope would adhere to England and France.

M. de Morette was to have been sent back six days ago with a reply about the King's contribution, but is delayed by certain difficulties, which I believe to have been raised by these agents of the most Christian King.

London, 3rd September 1528 (?).

[*Italian.*]

Sept. 28. Cancelleria Ducale, Archives of Modena.

90. The SAME to the SAME.

This day received the Duke's letter of the 19th August, and sent to the Cardinal at Hampton Court for audience, which was appointed him for tomorrow, when he will proceed to the King to notify to his Majesty the conspiracy against the Duke, which by God's mercy was detected. Putting aside regret that a nobleman [Giberto Pio] in whom trust was placed should have been guilty of so enormous a crime, congratulates himself on the good guard kept, as it will prevent malignant traitors from making similar attempts for the future.*

London, 28th September 1528.

[*Italian.*]

Sept. 28? Cancellaria Ducale, Archives of Modena.

91. The SAME to the SAME.

Lodovico and Bagnolo, with the mares and hobby stallions, were shipped on the 15th without injury. When hunting lately, having killed a stag, the King sent me half of it, a demonstration not made by him to all my colleagues at his court.

Letters have been received from Spain, from Messer Dario, a Lucchese, he having been sent by the King of England to the Emperor, who so far as can be ascertained had referred him to the . . . . . of Saragosa at Madrid.

Your Excellency will have understood what a loyal subject you have in the King's farrier, Master Hannibal; so it seemed well to the falconer Ludovico and to me, for his trouble, especially by going into the country with him for the purchase of the mares, to recompense him by a pecuniary present, and a silk doublet (*giuppone di seta*), but he would not accept them, and had their value been greater he would have persisted in his refusal. I comprehend that he merely desires your Excellency's good grace; which it is my duty to notify to you.

London, 28th (?) September 1528.

[*Italian.*]

Oct. 15. Cancelleria Ducale, Archives of Modena.

92. RODOLPHO [CONEGIAM], in the service of Cardinal CAMPEGGIO, his most revered master, DON HERCULES of ESTE, at a.†

n London, the delay being caused by the reverend Cardinal, who has been seriously

* led at 7 p.m. on the evening of the 30th October 1528. (See Frizzi, iv., 287.)
Ferrara.
of Don Hercules.

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Cardinal Wolsey wished Cardinal Campeggio to make his entry here into London publicly, but being unable to sit his horse, he came in privily, though, as everybody knew immediately that we had arrived, I sent to your Lordship's ambassador,* to come to me that evening, when I gave him your letter. He answered me that it was requisite to commence with Cardinal Wolsey, so we settled to go and do what was due on the morrow, the 8th, but we were compelled to wait until the 9th, because Cardinal Wolsey came to visit Cardinal Campeggio privately (*secretamente*) with some 50 gentlemen, and they remained together in conversation almost the whole of that day. When about to return home, Cardinal Wolsey chose to know all Cardinal Campeggio's household, and he sent for me, but I had him told that I was not at home; and then next day I went with the ambassador [Hieronimo Ferrufino] to pay my respects to him, and telling him what you had commissioned me. His right reverend Lordship answered he knew that the affairs of Italy, and those of the Lord your father, had prevented your coming, and that he does not believe the Pope to know anything of the sort (*ch'el Papa ne sapesse niente*), but felt quite sure that they were Albertine inventions ;† and that the ambassador [Hieronimo Ferrufino] had often spoken to him on the subject; and so he gave me the same answer which he had given to him over and over again. Thirdly, Cardinal Wolsey thanked your Lordship for the love you bear him, and for the trust you place in him. Last of all, I told him that I was likewise commissioned to make a demand for audience of his Majesty, and I requested his right reverend Lordship to present me; he answered me that I could not pay my respects to the King until after my Cardinal had spoken to him.

London, 15th October 1528.

[*Italian.*]

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[March 19.] Cancelleria Ducale, Dispacci dall' Inghilterra, Archives of Modena. No date.

93. HIERONIMO FERRUFINO to ALFONSO I., DUKE OF FERRARA.

His Majesty received lately letters from Spain, dated the 14th ultimo, informing him that the Emperor had ordered the sale of his biscuits (*biscotti*),‡ to which however but little belief is conceded, and that for this year he was no longer expected to make his passage into Italy.

During the last three days a report circulates here of the arrival in Flanders from Spain of a fleet of 60 merchantmen, and that the Emperor was on board of it, and although it is notorious that he has

* The marriage of Prince Hercules of Ferrara to Rénée of France, sister-in-law of Francis the 1st, took place in Paris on the 28th June 1528, and the bride and bridegroom left France for Ferrara in the following month of September, and arrived at Brascello in the Ferrarese territory early in November. (See Frizzi, iv., 286-287.)

† "*Inventione Albertesche.*" Cardinal Wolsey is here alluding to certain reports circulated by *Alberto* Pio Count of Carpi, the eternal enemy of the house of Este; though what those reports were in 1528 I know not, nor does Frizzi allude to them, but the term *Albertesche* shows how conversant Cardinal Wolsey was with Italian politics.

‡ This letter, signed by the Ferrarese Ambassador, has no date of place, year or month, but by referring to the word *Biscuit* in the index to vol. iv., Venetian Calendar, I was enabled to supply these omissions.

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not crossed, yet as the King with his own lips mentioned this rumour to M. de Langes, the French ambassador, I will not omit to repeat it.

[London, 19th March 1529.]

[*Italian.*]

March 22. Cancelleria Ducale, Dispacci dall' Inghilterra, Archives of Modena.

94. The SAME to the SAME.

The brother of the Bishop of Bayonne, M. de Langes, to whom I alluded in my last, arrived here four days ago as ambassador from the most Christian King* . . . . . and perhaps moreover to negotiate something else, as your Excellency may have been advised by the magnifico Messer Ludovico Cato.

His Lordship says he shall remain here some days, until the return of his brother the Bishop of Bayonne.

Notwithstanding the truce, French vessels bound from France to England with wines and other merchandise are frequently captured in these seas by the Spaniards, and when complaints about this are made to the Emperor's ambassador here, he apologizes by saying the plunderers are pirates.

London, 22nd March 1529.

[*Italian.*]

April 5. Cancelleria Ducale, Dispacci dall' Inghilterra, Archives of Modena.

95. The SAME to the SAME.

M. de Langes is come to exhort the King of England in the name of his most Christian Majesty, to make good and valid provision for the war, and that he should determine especially to make the contribution for another six months, as he did last year. Your Excellency will perceive the reply already made to him, by the enclosed writing† ; with the following addition as told me by M. de Langes, that if by the middle of next May no truce (*indutie*) be stipulated, the King, *ex nunc prout ex tunc*, promises to contribute, and use every effort subsequently to wage the war briskly, most especially having then legitimate and greater cause to do so ; and that to form such opinion as necessary about the truce, he will send to his most Christian King a personage his intimate, whose name as yet is unknown.

Before M. de Langes spoke to the King [about the contribution, etc. ?] (by what I and others elicited from him) we believe that he was to urge and exhort his Majesty and the Cardinal to renew the negotiation for the peace. He now says that the proposal to treat the adjustment was made to him by the King, who I believe really wishes for peace to exempt himself from cost, nor did he conceal from the aforesaid Langes that he did what he has done hitherto, he did out of love for his King, and not because he anticipated any advantage from the war or had any interest in it like his most Christian Majesty and the other allies (*confederati*).

Besides the reply made by his Majesty to M. de Langes, he referred himself also to what would be more diffusely said and

* Then follow eight and a half lines of cipher, without any key.

† Not found.

1529.

decided by Cardinal Wolsey, who told him his King was of opinion that were the truce not to take place, a league should be formed against the Emperor, and a fund (*et una borsa*), a person of confidence being appointed, to spend and make provision according to the exigencies of the war; whilst for the negotiation of the said truce they will send a personage with full instructions to his most Christian Majesty, and with power to pledge the King, and with means to disburse the money should it be needed, but that to speak of a contribution at present was futile (*frustatorio*), his Majesty having determined first of all to know whether the most Christian King approved of his opinion.

It is said that in four days they will send to Rome Messer Silvestro Dario, a Lucchese, a worthy and able man, about the negotiation for the truce, and also about the marriage.

London, 5th April 1529.

[*Italian.*]

April 11. Cancelleria Ducale, Dispacci dall' Inghilterra, Archives of Modena.

96. HIRONIMO FERRUFINO to ALFONSO I., DUKE OF FERRARA.

Since my last, M. de Langes tells me he has had another decision from Cardinal Wolsey, which seems to me a very good one, and it is, that before sending the personage mentioned in my former letter to the King of France, he will accredit to him a gentleman of his privy chamber, not only to tell him what is here considered expedient, but also with orders and means to disburse the money, *contributionis nomine*, if, on his arrival in France, the Pope's reply about the negotiation of truce (*la praticha de indutie*) be delayed; the commencement of which matter proceeded from his Holiness.

This letter will be conveyed to the French court by M. de Langes, on whose departure there will be no representative here of his most Christian Majesty, but I believe that either M. de Langes, or his brother the Bishop of Bayonne, or some one else, will be sent hither shortly, so as not to leave this court without an ambassador from France.

The Imperial ambassador here has asked leave to return to Spain, and I understand it will be granted him, what he says about the Emperor's passage into Italy being disbelieved, and they suspect it will be found subsequently that his Imperial Majesty will cross towards the end of next month.*

They are still intent on the despatch of Silvestro Dario, who is going to Rome about the divorce and the truce.

In my former letters I wrote how little it was believed that the most Christian King would obtain any money from his Majesty here, but I am now told on good authority that should the truce not be made, he will not fail to give his assistance, with regard to which I refer myself to the result.

London, 11th April 1529.

[*Italian.*]

* The Emperor arrived at Genoa on the 12th August 1529. (See Venetian Calendar, iv., p. 227.)

1529.
[May 8.]
Cancelleria Ducale, Dispacci dall' Inghilterra. Archives of Modena. No date.

97. The SAME to the SAME.

Many days having elapsed since I last saw Cardinal Wolsey, it seemed to me fitting, on the receipt of your Excellency's letters, and those of the magnifico Messer Ludovico Cato announcing the serious indisposition and auspicious convalescence of the Duchess, to go to his right reverend Lordship, who rejoiced extremely to hear of the well-being of your Excellency to whom he recommended himself greatly, thanking you for your remembrance of him; expressing also extreme satisfaction at the Duchess' recovery, saying his King had heard of it; nor will I fail on the first opportunity to recommend your Excellency humbly to his Majesty.

Subsequently his right reverend Lordship, talking with me about the war, the way in which it was carried on, and the Governments (*et li Governi*), evinced much regret at the entry of the Spaniards into Milan, saying that some persons supposed them to have remained in the Genoese territory as long as it suited Antonio de Leva; adding (to use the Cardinal's own words), that unless your Excellency assume the undertaking in person, it seems to him to be in a very bad way.

Respecting the Emperor's passage into Italy, he believes for certain, on the authority of letters received from the Auditor of the Chamber,* his King's ambassador in Spain, that it would be delayed, as no opportune preparations for a fleet were visible, nor any other provision; it being thought that the Emperor would push on (*spingerse*) to Barcelona, to foment the affairs of Italy; yet, nevertheless, to say what occurs to my poor judgment, I do not believe that an ambassador can see clearly everywhere, but it is perhaps better and more advantageous to think so; though on the other hand, should the passage ensue, they might be taken unawares.

M. de Langes being here, the King said he should send a gentleman to his most Christian Majesty, and gave him his commission; his name is Master Russell, and he departs tomorrow, but I have hitherto been unable to ascertain whether he takes any sum of money with him.

The Imperial ambassador here, who lately asked leave to go to Spain, will, I understand, depart in three or four days, nor as yet is anything said about his successor.

The King and the Legates have received letters from Rome dated the 22nd ult., which they were very anxiously expecting, not having had any since . . . . ; and although I suppose your Excellency is advised from Rome about the Pope's decision in the affair of the divorce, I will nevertheless not omit to tell you that . . . . .

[London, 8th May 1529.]

[*Italian.*]

* Hironimo Ghinucci. (See Venetian Calendar, vol. iv., Index.)

1529.

May 11. Cancelleria Ducale, Dispacci dall' Inghilterra, Archives of Modena.

98. HIRONIMO FERRUFINO to ALFONSO I., DUKE OF FERRARA.

Letters have arrived here from Spain, dated Saragossa the 21st ult., brought to this most Serene King by an express from his ambassador with the Emperor* . . . . . that preparations were being made, for soldiery, ships, and biscuits, and that although his Majesty wishes above all things to cross into Italy, yet as the whole of the Council, except his Lord Chancellor† are of a contrary opinion, it is thought that his going to Barcelona will be for the purpose of sending troops to Italy, and fomenting her calamities, though should he perceive that by going in person great advantage would be gained, and should some fair opportunity present itself for him to play a sure game by proceeding thither, it is believed that he will not fail to gratify his wish; and the express said that his Majesty had left Saragossa for Barcelona.

By my letter of the 8th your Excellency will see that Master Russell had been despatched for France, and was to have departed on the day before yesterday, with which purpose he had sent off his servants and horses, and went to Cardinal Campeggio to receive his commands; but after the receipt here of the letters from Spain, they changed their minds, it being understood that he is no longer to go, and that the King will forthwith send to France the personage alluded to when M. de Langes was here, the which personage, some people say, will be the Duke of Suffolk, and others Lord Fitzwilliam, K.G. (sic)‡ Treasurer of his Majesty's Household.

London, 11th May 1529.

[*Italian.*]

May 19. Cancelleria Ducale, Dispacci dall' Inghilterra, Archives of Modena.

99. The SAME to the SAME.

The bearer of this letter, as far as Modena, will be the Lucchese Messer Silvestro Dario.

Six days ago the Bishop of Bayonne arrived here in very great haste,§ being sent by the King of France to reside with his Majesty. He went immediately to Cardinal Wolsey, and then to the King, who is at Windsor, and on his return again conferred with his right reverend Lordship, thus causing much conjecture, and inducing a belief in some treaty of adjustment (*qualche praticha di appontamento*); but from what the Bishop himself says, he is merely come as ambassador-resident, and to urge the King to execute the decision made by him about the money when M. de Langes was here; adding that his most Christian King has already a great number of Germans in France, to whom arrears of pay are due.

This coming of the Bishop of Bayonne has somewhat delayed the despatch to France of the Duke of Suffolk and the Treasurer Fitz-

* Then follow six lines of cipher.
† The Piedmontese Gattinara. (See vol. iv., Venetian Calendar, Index.)
‡ Sir William Fitzwilliam, Knt., afterwards Earl of Southampton?
§ See also Venetian Calendar, vol. iv., 210.

1529.

william, who departed by this night's tide (*che sono partiti questa notte con la marea*).

The real cause of their going to his most Christian Majesty is unknown, the Bishop of Bayonne, by his own account, having been unable to ascertain it from the King, who said that, as he was sending such personages, especially his brother-in-law, he would not affront them by proclaiming the object of their mission, and that the Bishop must not take this silence amiss, as his Majesty very well knew him to be so good a servant of his King that he would conceal nothing from him.

By my letters of the 12th, news arrived here that his most Christian Majesty had made a truce (*indutie*) for 18 months with the Emperor, including the King of England and their Majesties' confederates, and this has been seen here in print in the French tongue, but without any mention of the day or of the place where they were printed; and besides the printed paper, some French sailors, who subsequently crossed over from France, brought word that in Normandy it was said publicly the truce had been made; so that on his arrival here M. de Bayonne found the King much surprised and dissatisfied, most especially because this had been done without his intervention and participation; concerning which the Bishop says he spoke very strongly to his Majesty, making him believe that it was utterly false, and wagering his head to that effect.

London, 19th May 1529.

[*Italian, signed.*]

May 23. Cancelleria Ducale, Dispacci dall' Inghilterra, Archives of Modena.

100. The SAME to the SAME.

[34½ *lines cipher, after which*—]

Dr. Bennet departed hence yesterday for Rome,* being sent by the King to reside with the Pope in place of Dr. Stephen [Gardiner], who, according to Bennet, has been recalled.

London, 23rd May 1529.

[*Italian, signed.*]

Aug. 9. Cancelleria Ducale, Dispacci dall' Inghilterra, Archives of Modena.

101. The SAME to the SAME.

In my former letters† I informed your Excellency that during the last three years so many gerfalcons were taken to France, that fewer than usual have been brought hither, so the greatest number purchasable would be six, and their cost from nine to ten nobles each. On the 31st July† I wrote what Cardinal Wolsey said to me about the peace and adjustment made between the Pope and the Emperor, nor did I think it fit to omit doing so, although aware that it was *lignum in sylvam mittere;* and after the despatch of my letter, I saw here a copy of the articles of the peace, sent from

* For the date of his arrival there, see Venetian Calendar, iv. 217.
† Not found.

1529.

France, which differed in some particulars from the one received here, but I thought it immaterial, as your Excellency will have received your own copy long ago.

[*Then follow* 29 *lines in cipher.*]

Concerning this matrimonial suit, Cardinal Campeggio postponed it on account of the summer vacation, according to the practice of the Rota (*le ferie*), until next October. The King then went into the country, accompanied by the Queen, and on their departure from Greenwich his Majesty was seen to enter the barge of the Queen, with whom there was also Madame Anne. The Princess, some days ago, was taken away from the Queen, and sent into the country; Cardinal Wolsey absented himself immediately from this city to go to a place of his called St. Albans. Cardinal Campeggio is still here, and he and all his attendants are very well.

London, 9th August 1529.

[*Italian.*]

Aug. 23. Cancelleria Ducale, Dispacci dall' Inghilterra, Archives of Modena.

102. HIRONIMO FERRUFINO to ALFONSO I., DUKE OF FERRARA.

M. de Langes has arrived from France, to give account of the affairs of the peace to the King, who had heard it first by his envoys' letters, and then from themselves. He was to have gone today with his brother M. de Bayonne to the court, now a distance of 32 miles hence, but the Duke of Norfolk sent to tell them that the King desires them to go next Thursday, today being Monday.

London, 23rd August 1529.

[*Italian.*]

Sept. 7. Cancelleria Ducale, Dispacci dall' Inghilterra, Archives of Modena.

103. The SAME to the SAME.

Twelve days ago Messrs. de Langes and de Bayonne went to the King, who is now at a distance of 60 miles from London, to give him particular account of the things treated in the peace of Cambrai, and they are still with him.

His Majesty's ambassadors having returned from Cambrai,* he had the peace between the Emperor and him proclaimed, without naming the other Princes comprised in the said peace; from what I hear, his Majesty would have wished to make peace as chief contractor (*come primo contrahente*) and not as participant (*e non come accessoria*).

There has appeared (*è comparsa*) for these right reverend Lords the Legates the prohibition from the Pope touching the suit (*in la litte*) for the re-examination of this marriage, for which reason Cardinal Campeggio is gone to Cardinal Wolsey, at a place of his, twenty miles hence, and says that he shall go from there to the King to ask leave to return to Italy.

[*Then follow* 15 *lines of cipher.*]

It is heard that at the beginning of next November, a general Parliament will be held in this kingdom, as has been done heretofore, but it is not known for what purpose; some persons presume

* For an account of their swearing to the Peace of Cambrai, see Venetian Calendar, iv., 226.

1529.

that it will be to obtain the consent of the people (by showing them that *ita expediat Reipublicæ*) for his Majesty to make the divorce and the marriage; others believe that it will be to raise a sum of money, which second opinion will, it is thought, be verified, although another cause may be assigned.

London, 7th September 1529.

[*Italian.*]

Sept. 9. Cancelleria Ducale, Dispacci dall' Inghilterra, Archives of Modena.

104. The SAME to the SAME.

This letter will be taken as far as his most Christian Majesty's court by M. de Langes, who with his brother M. de Bayonne returned from the King yesterday.

Besides the causes assigned for assembling Parliament as mentioned in my last, it is said to be partly for the purpose of diminishing the authority of the clergy here (*per deprimere in parte l'authorità del clero qua*).

[*Then follow 26½ lines of cipher.*]

London, 9th September 1529.

[*Italian.*]

Sept. 29. Cancelleria Ducale, Dispacci dall' Inghilterra, Archives of Modena.

105. The SAME to the SAME.

Although I hope and believe that by reason of the good and signal demonstrations made by your Excellency towards the Emperor, and the important services rendered by you to him and his army, at various periods, and on account of your affinity with the King of France, you will have adjusted your affairs with his Imperial Majesty before the arrival at his court of the ambassadors of this King,* I have nevertheless determined to go to his Majesty, who is still in the country some 90 miles off, (as he is about to despatch to the aforesaid Emperor his Master of the Horse and the Dean of his Chapel) to pray and remind him through the opportunity afforded by this embassy of what seems to me fitting.

The Legate Campeggio has returned from the King, who gave him very gracious leave, and from what I hear evinced much love for him. His right reverend Lordship says he shall depart for Italy in six or seven days.

Cardinal Wolsey has been to his Majesty,† from whom he had been absent about two months, and from what I have heard at the second colloquy (*al secondo raggionamento*) he was quite alone with the King for a good two hours (*sola sola con soa Maestà due grosse horè*). His right reverend Lordship has come hither, because the law-term time is near at hand, and I shall now go to visit and pay my respects to him. Should no change take place in the Chancellorship next November at the meeting of Parliament, I am of opinion he will remain in his usual authority and greatness.

Hoxton, one mile from London, 29th September 1529.

[*Italian.*]

* Sir Nicholas Carew and Dr. Sampson. (See Venetian Calendar, iv., 232, and Hall's Chronicle, p. 764.)

† At Woodstock? (See Lingard, iv., 259, ed. 1854.)

1529.
Oct. 4.

106. HIRONIMO FERRUFINO to ALFONSO I., DUKE OF FERRARA.

Cancellaria Ducale, Dispacci dall' Inghilterra, Archives of Modena.

I have now returned from the King, who gave me most gracious audience as usual, and in my presence he sent for the Master of the Horse and gave him a very warm commission (*caldissima commissione*) about your Excellency's affairs, and desired me to tell Dr. Stephen what I wished to have written on the subject, and when I quitted the presence chamber he followed me that I might give him your Excellency's proper name (*proprio nome*).

[*Then follow* 22 *lines of cipher.*]

Since his return I have visited Cardinal Wolsey, who gave me the best possible greeting, and condescended to discourse with me about the affairs of the war, and of Italy in particular.

[*Then follow* 12 *lines of cipher.*]

The ambassadors from the King to his Imperial and Catholic Majesty tell me they shall pass through Reggio and Modena, and if my letters arrive in time your Excellency will cause them to be visited, as besides their being his Majesty's ambassadors, the Master of the Horse is devoted to your Excellency, always evincing great affection for you, and doing me honour in his house as your servant. The Dean of his Majesty's Chapel is also a person of great worth and ability. Should your Excellency have occasion to write to them you must know that the aforesaid Master of the Horse takes precedence of his colleague.

His Majesty is sending two other ambassadors to the most Christian King, one of whom is the brother of Madame Anne, nor do I yet know the object of their mission.

The King is come to Greenwich, where it is understood that he will remain for three days, and then return to Windsor; the cause of his coming, and going back so immediately, being, to hold a Council of the chief lords (*magnati*) and great prelates of this kingdom, in anticipation of the Parliament, to discuss beforehand (*per prestituere, sic*) what is to be treated therein.

Cardinal Campeggio says he shall depart tomorrow unless detained by his usual malady. The King sent to give him by Cardinal Wolsey a sideboard (*una credenza*) of gilt-plate, worth 3,000 crowns, besides what his Majesty gave him last Christmas; and as mentioned in my former letters his right reverend Lordship was dismissed by the King most graciously (*con bonissima gratia di quella*), a very good demonstration being also made to the reverend Messer Floriano, both by his Majesty and by Cardinal Wolsey.

London, 4th October 1529.

[*Italian*].

Oct. 20.

107. The SAME to the SAME.

Cancellaria Ducale, Dispacci dall' Inghilterra, Archives of Modena.

[*After* 13 *lines of cipher.*].

On the 17th instant Cardinal Wolsey was deprived of the great seal, and of the Chancellorship,* an inventory being also taken of his moveables (*beni mobili*), part of which, it is heard, have been

* Michaelmas Term commenced on the 2nd November, and ended on the 28th November, and the date generally assigned to the disgrace of Cardinal Wolsey is

1529.

taken from him, a portion of his establishment being discharged. The Parliament, which is to meet in this next month of November, will, it is expected, decide about his right reverend Lordship's affairs, which have in truth commenced badly, most especially as it seems that no one stands his friend. He is still in his palace at Westminster, but it is said they will not allow him to keep it.

In my letter of the 4th I wrote to your Excellency of the leave given by his Majesty to Cardinal Campeggio to return to Italy, and how honourably he had presents made to him, Messer Floriano likewise having been very well treated by the King; and as the Cardinal and his attendants carry with them a number of trunks, for effects which they purchased here, these Lords, and subsequently his Majesty, suspected that they were carrying off some great sum of money, received from the Italian merchants; or to say what is presumed, the suspicion arose that Cardinal Wolsey had consigned it to Cardinal Campeggio, on whose arrival at Dover, accompanied by the Bishop of Bath and by a herald from the King with orders for his passage to be made at his Majesty's costs, the Custom-house officers presented themselves *ex officio* and insisted on examining all the effects and . . . . . [*Blank in MS.*]*

[Dover, 20th October 1529.†]

[*Italian*].

Dec. 16. Cancelleria Ducale, Dispacci, Archives of Modena.

108. HIRONIMO FERRUFINO to ALFONSO I., DUKE OF FERRARA.

On the 14th of last month I received the despatch for my departure from the King of England, and left London on the 16th; on getting to the seaside I was compelled to wait 12 days at Dover, for weather to cross; and having embarked and set sail with a high wind, when halfway to Calais it so increased that not only was I afraid of shipwreck, but the sailors also, they being compelled to make for Sandwich, also an English port, where after losing four days we then put to sea for Calais again in a gale, which having shifted we returned off Dover, and at length crossed in the whole of one day and a night, so that we employed 24 hours for a passage which is usually made in four or five. As my horses suffered greatly and were on shipboard for five nights, on landing at Calais I remained there two days, and yesterday I arrived here, where I cannot but rest them for three or four days. At Lyons I shall stay as short a time as possible, and wishing beyond measure to find myself as soon as possible with your Excellency.

Paris, 16th December 1529.

[*Italian.*]

"Michaelmas Term" 1529. In a letter from the Venetian Ambassador, Falier, dated London, October 28th, 1529, (Venetian Calendar, iii., 233,) it is stated that Cardinal Wolsey had already been deprived of the seal, which was given to Sir Thomas More; and this is now confirmed by Ferrufino.

* "The charge was false; and it was thought that the real object of the search was to seize certain papers which it might be the King's interest to possess." (See Lingard, iv., 260 *text*, and *foot note* No. 3).

† The date of this letter is inferred from Ferrufino's allusion to the meeting of Parliament "*in this next month of November.*"

1535.
May 12.
St. Mark's Library, Cod. LXIII., Class V. Italian MSS.

109. PIETRO CARNESECCHI DE'MEDICI, Prothonotary, late Secretary of Clement VII.,* to PAOLO VERGERIO, Apostolic Nuncio with the King of the Romans.

I write this present letter to announce the capture, or rather arrest, of the Reverend Lord Prothonotary Casal, to whom although I do not see what assistance I can render by writing to you, yet nevertheless to discharge my debt of close and ancient friendship with him, I recommend him to your Lordship with all possible earnestness, praying you for love of me to intercede with King Ferdinand, either that he may be released, if possible, as I hope from his Majesty's goodness and clemency (*virtù*), or that he be at least treated kindly during the time of his arrest; by doing which, I doubt not but that you will greatly alleviate the distress of that good gentleman, who in short has not committed any other crime than that of having perhaps wished to serve his Prince too much, which, in my opinion, entitles him to praise and commendation from everybody, and at least to excuse and compassion from his Majesty. If the Lord Prothonotary obtains it, as hoped, although proceeding in great part from his Majesty's graciousness and magnanimity, I promise your lordship that it will all be considered owing to your help and intercession, the general belief being that you can persuade the King as you will (*ch'ella possa disponerne a suo modo*), and that you will not fail using all assiduity and solicitation in your power, thus obliging not only me, but all Rome and all Venice, where chiefly the Prothonotary is known and beloved by everybody.

Rome, 12th May 1535.

[*Italian, signed and addressed.*]

May 13.
The Correr Museum at Venice.

110. NICHOLAS SCHOMBERG, Archbishop of Capua, to the PROTHONOTARY VERGERIO, Apostolic Nuncio with Ferdinand, King of the Romans.

Having heard that Monsignor Bishop,† called the Prothonotary Casal, has been arrested (*sostenuto*) by certain officials of his Majesty in those parts, I cannot but feel compassion for him, he being a worthy man and much my friend, and because this disaster must have befallen him owing entirely to excess of fidelity and assiduity; and the more do I pity him as in the course of my diplomatic services things of the same sort have happened to me myself. Knowing how much influence your Lordship has with the King of the Romans, I pray you to exert yourself for the benefit of the aforesaid and for his release, or at least that he may be well treated; and were I not deterred by the fear of appearing too presumptuous I would pray your Lordship to supplicate his Majesty to this effect.

Rome, 13th May 1535.

[*Italian, signed and addressed.*]

* Pope Clement VII. died on the 26th September 1534; and on the following 13th October was succeeded by Paul III.; both Pontiffs having accredited Pietro Paolo Vergerio to Ferdinand King of the Romans.

† Concerning the claims of Prothonotary Casal to the Bishopric of Belluno see Venetian Calendar, iv. 423.

1535.
May 13. St. Mark's Library, Cod. LXIII., Class V., Italian MSS. Venice.

111. CARDINAL ANDREA MATTEO PALMIERI to PIETRI PAOLO VERGERIO, Nuncio Apostolic at the Court of Ferdinand, King of the Romans.

It is heard here that the King of the Romans (*cotesta corona*) has caused the arrest of the Prothonotary Casal, and as he is in fact a member of this Court as Referendary, and has greatly exerted himself in the service of the See Apostolic, besides all which he is my friend, not having time to write to his Majesty on the subject, I pray your Lordship to entreat his Majesty in my name to deign to release the aforesaid personage, preventing him from continuing his journey, but allowing him to return hither, as his Majesty will assuredly do what is agreeable to the whole of this Court. I indeed pray your Lordship to let the aforesaid personage see that my intercessions have been most earnest and of great moment, should the grace be obtained, and even if denied, they will not fail to demonstrate to the aforesaid Prothonotary that I performed this office with the whole power of my heart (*con tutta l'efficacia del cuor mio*); and do me the favour to let his Majesty understand that I had not time to petition him for this act of grace, which I greatly desire.

Rome, 13th May 1535.

[*Italian, signed and addressed.*]

May 13. St. Mark's Library, Cod. LXXXIII., Class V., Italian MSS.

112. CARDINAL MARINO GRIMANI to PIETRO PAOLO VERGERIO, Papal Nuncio with the King of the Romans.

Although the Holiness of our Lord is writing earnestly to your Lordship about the release of Monsignor Bishop Casal, and we are quite convinced that you will do your best to effect it, by reason of your great goodness, we also have nevertheless not chosen to omit writing these few lines to you in like manner, and thus with all affection do we encourage your Lordship in this matter, as these Lords together with ourselves consider it certain that the going into those parts of Monsignor Casal did not take place save with a good intention and for a good result; so we anxiously await his release, which will in truth be much to the commendation of your Lordship, to whom we offer ourselves, and fare you well.

Rome, 13th May 1535.

[*Italian, signed and addressed.*]

July 23. St. Mark's Library. Cod. LXIII., Class V., Italian MSS.

113. CARDINAL* NICHOLAS SCHOMBERG, Archbishop of Capua, to PIETRO PAOLO VERGERIO, Apostolic Nunicio with the King of the Romans.

As to the Lord Prothonotary Bishop Casal, I kiss his sacred Majesty's hands for all such clemency as he shall cause to be shown him, as in my opinion his release is of little consequence, because those who sent him might easily send others, and perhaps more bitter ones (*et forse più acerbi.*) My belief is, that by favouring the aforesaid, your Lordship who knows how to do so, and has it in

* Made Cardinal 20th May 1535.

1535.

your power (*quale conosce et po*), cannot err, whilst on the other hand it is my wish greatly to serve you, to whom I recommend myself.

Rome, 23rd July 1535.

[*Italian, signed and addressed.*]

July 24. St. Mark's Library, Cod. XLIV., Class V. Italian MSS.

114. PIETRO PAOLO VERGERIO, Apostolic Nuncio with the King of the Romans, to the PROTHONOTARY AMBROGIO RICALCATO, Chief Secretary to Pope PAUL III.

I have had a great deal to do about Bishop Casal, and believe me that there was much to fear, for from intercepted letters of his, and from the confession of his comrade Andrea Corsino, made through many jerks of the cord, I understand it to have been found that his Lordship was going into Hungary for no other purpose than to disturb the peace; therefore these Germans bore him the worst possible will, and it behoved me intercede with much reserve, and for many respects not to show myself very anxious in the name of his Holiness. Now at length his affairs will go well, and for what shall remain to be done for his release I will use all my industry expertly (*dextramente*).

Vienna, 24th July 1535.

[*Italian, autograph; endorsed.*]

1545.

Sept. 2. Venetian Archives.

115. JACOMO ZAMBON, Venetian Secretary in England, to the CHIEFS OF THE TEN.*

Having on the 30th ultimo received your letters of 13th August about Lodovico Dalle Armi, I went immediately to the court, 16 miles hence, and hearing that the King would not return from hunting till very late, I remained there, and next morning early went to Secretary Paget, and requested him to speak to his Majesty about my audience, consigning to him the enclosures in your Lordship's letters from Harvel. Sir William Paget, after speaking with his Majesty, answered me that the King, having settled to go out hunting again on that day, apologised for being unable to give me audience, but that on the morrow I was to return to the Court, as his Majesty wished to speak with me. According to that order, I went to the Court yesterday, and heard that on the 29th ultimo his Majesty had received letters from the above-written Lodovico Dalle Armi, dated the 15th of that month, of the tenor told by his Majesty subsequently.

On both days Secretary Paget and the Bishop of Winchester showed me much favour and honour (*molti honorevoli favori*) from respect for your Lordships, and yesterday evening the Secretary took me to the King, who the moment he saw me rose from his seat and came to meet me, almost to the middle of his chamber, receiving me very graciously; he then stopped short, to hear what I had to tell him.

* See Venetian Calendar, vol. v., A.D. 1534–1554, pp. 151–154, Dec. 4, 1545.

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I then reverentially stated the cause of my coming to his Majesty thus, that three days ago I received letters from your Lordships about the matter which his Majesty would hear; and then I read your letters to his Majesty, stating the whole case to him clearly, word for word in Latin (except your confidential additional paragraph for my instruction), and detailing all the crimes of Ludovico one by one, and above all his having had the walls of Treviso scaled. The King listened to me most attentively until the end.

On returning to sit in his place the King called Paget to him, and talked with him in secret for a long time. Paget then made me approach his Majesty, who answered me, "As I do not speak Latin fluently, the Secretary will remain here to assist me." (*Poi ritornò a sedere al loco suo, chiamò Paget a se, et ragionato seco di secreto lungamente, mi fece accostar presso di sua Maestà, la quale mi rispose, Poi perche non ho ben pronta la lingua a parlar latino, starà quì il Secretario ad aggiuttarmi.*) He then continued, "I have heard the letters written to you by the Signory, and it truly displeases me inexpressibly that any subject of mine (*che alcun di miei*) should molest the Signory, and give them cause for resentment and displeasure, though in this case I know not what to say till I hear the other side likewise. Lodovico Dalle Armi will be here in two days; I shall hear what he will have to tell me (*intenderò quel che mi saprà dire*). I delight in justice, but I cannot do it until I hear the other party likewise. I perceive that the Signory writes the charges against the said Lodovico, but do not state the cause which induced his acts, according to which cause the offence may greatly diminish, and may also be greatly aggravated; and let the Signory be sure and certain that the aforesaid Lodovico and my men, having been at strife with the Signory's officials, did not intend to give offence to the magistracy, but because in Venice there are many Frenchmen, many from the Bishop of Rome,* and also other enemies of mine, my men thought that the Signory's guard were of that sort, and did not think they were officials. Then about the wounded Count Bua, as written to you by the Signory, I will also tell you what occurred as Lodovico Dalle Armi wrote it to me. This Count had promised him to come and serve me in this war, and after taking my money then refused to serve me, a fine feat as you see. As customary amongst soldiers, for this cause Ludovico wounded the Count. Nothing was done to offend the Signory; so pray them, out of respect for me and for my honour, to have consideration for my men, and to do by me as they have done towards others in more important cases than these are, and you well know whom I allude to (*et voi sapete bene di chi voglio dire*)." I replied, "Sire, I truly do not know to whom your Majesty alludes." "Well, do you not know," rejoined his Majesty, and after a pause said laughing, but with a laugh rather scornful than otherwise (*ma con un riso pieno di sdegno più che d'altro*), "I say, what the Signory did by the French; by the French," repeating the words more vehemently

* Pope Paul III.

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the second time; "and well do you know it, though you feign ignorance of the matter. But my Secretary will tell it you more clearly."

I continued, that according to your custom your Lordships made me state sincerely to his Majesty the truth of these cases derived from the confession of the culprits, and from the processes; that if you do not write to his Majesty the causes of the said excesses it was because they are not in fact the causes admitted by reason; and that what Lodovico says or may say are excuses devised by him to palliate in some way his crimes, as usual with any guilty man. "Oh!" said his Majesty, "I only repeat what Lodovico writes to me, but should it be so there would be no great harm if from respect for me those Lords were to omit complaining of this so much as they do." I rejoined, "Sire, the excesses are of such a serious nature, as you have well understood," and I again repeated them all to him. "Well," replied Paget, "his Majesty will write to Harvel* to inform himself about it." I rejoined, "Your Majesty's ambassador is already very well informed about this, so that he, knowing the truth of these things, and the evil practices (*et le male operationi*) of the said Lodovico, answered those most illustrious Lords that they will greatly displease your Majesty, and that he knows that those Lords cannot proceed otherwise than they do, declaring that [your Majesty] will neither support nor favour any one of such a sort."

I then added to his Majesty that it was evident that the excuses of Lodovico were frivolous; alleging also to the King many proofs whereby even at night the guards are clearly discernible from enemies; and that even if the other excuse about Count Bua were true and good, Lodovico should seek justice from Venice, his Majesty having well said, that neither Prince nor any other just person like his Majesty would ever tolerate for any cause, that an individual should thus right himself in his Majesty's kingdom. "These are things," said the King, "usual amongst soldiers, precisely for taking money and not serving, as this man did; how many of our own soldiers are hanged daily without farther right, in similar cases!"

I said, "Sire, this is perhaps done, but not in places subject to common law, and although done in other places, it is less tolerated in the Republic's State than elsewhere." The King rejoined, "In France, in England, and all over the world, when one takes money as a soldier, and then does not serve, they give him a dagger-thrust (*una pugnalata*) immediately; nor is any penalty exacted for it. I pray the Signory to have respect for my honour, with regard to my men, and for our old friendship, which has been such that never between the Signory and me has there been cause of dissension, and I also choose to hope that even at present no cause for dissension may arise between us."

I replied respectfully, "Most serene King, my most illustrious Lords have never given, nor do they now give cause for any dissension to your Majesty; to whom speaking reverentially, your Majesty can complain of no one but Lodovico Dalle Armi and his comrades, who

* Sigismund, alias Edmund, Harvel, English Ambassador at Venice, as here stated by Secretary Paget, in the King's presence.

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by their illicit ways and grievous crimes, which I repeated one by one, have given cause for so seriously disturbing your Majesty, and those most illustrious Lords, who, at all times so far as in their power, did what was agreeable to your Majesty, and recently, from respect for your Highness, tolerated gatherings of captains and soldiers, which they never suffered previously."

"I thank the Signory," said his Majesty; "the errors you tell me of were not done to offend the Signory; pray them in my name to delay, as Lodovico Dalle Armi will be here in a few days;" and this request he repeated several times with much earnestness and fervour. I said that I could not fail to transmit with all speed to your Lordships what he had said to me, for which he thanked me, praying me to do so speedily, as I promised; and when taking leave of the King, I said to him that heretofore he would have known always by facts the good will of the Republic towards him, and the Signory's desire to preserve the ancient friendship with him.

On arriving in the hall, having been told by one of his Majesty's gentlemen that Secretary Paget also wished to say a word to me, I waited for him, and he coming out of the King's chamber drew me aside, saying, "You have heard his Majesty's desire; write it I pray you speedily to those most illustrious Lords, requesting them to be content, from respect for his Majesty, not to proceed so rigorously against his men who have been arrested, but to delay as he told you. Well do you know that when that great magistracy of yours* went three years ago by night to the house of the French ambassador, to arrest those secretaries and others who were hanged, how much armed resistance was offered by those individuals, not only those of the French ambassador's household but others likewise, both our (*sic*, your?)—subjects and foreigners, who remained guarding the French embassy for several days, and nevertheless the Signory did not punish them in any way. This you cannot deny, for well do I know it, as I was in France at the time." I replied that on this occasion there were only the servants of the French ambassador, and that all the Signory's subjects who had offended and could be seized had been punished. Secretary Paget then said that I would not confess the truth, adding, "Beware of the Signory's letting the world know that England is less loved and esteemed by them than France. *My King and the Signory have indeed many friends, but they are all feigned friends; the friendship between the King and Venice is sincere; there is no state or border for division between them; although we are remote one from the other, we are at least nigh to those who might be the enemies of both of us. What is opportune for this King is opportune for the Signory, both ruling with the same policy; now that his Majesty is in this war, it seems to him that the common cause is treated.* This King hopes for every accommodation from those most illustrious Lords, especially when it treats of his honour, but much more at present, his Majesty having now commenced acquiring some credit and repute with the world by being able to have troops from some part of Italy."

* Query, the Council of Ten.

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The Secretary [Paget] had said to me before, "Now the King and Queen and their daughter are going to hunt; his Majesty invites you to accompany him." I prayed his Lordship to thank the King greatly, and excused myself on the ground that I should not be able to return to London before night-fall (*se non di notte*), and that I had to write what his Majesty had enjoined me.

Besides what I have already said, although I know how easily your Lordships may be wearied by such great prolixity, yet nevertheless endeavouring to write you the whole according to my feeble memory, I did so to avoid doing perhaps worse by omitting anything which might move your Lordships to form some resolve in one way rather than in another. It remains for me to tell you that *yesterday morning I heard from a good quarter that these lords are now treating certain proposals to your Serenity, either of a secret league together, or similar matter, of which I could not learn any other particular; and that moreover I should also perhaps be spoken to about it shortly by the said councillors.*

London, 2nd September 1545.

[*Italian, signed and addressed.*]

Sept. 3. Venetian Archives.

116. SECRETARY ZAMBON to the CHIEFS OF THE TEN.

With this opportunity, I will not omit telling your Lordships that I have elicited, on good authority at the Court, that Harvel and Lodovico Dalle Armi are at enmity, owing to their contradictory statements made lately to this King.

London, 3rd September 1545.

[*Italian.*]

Sept. 6. Venetian Archives.

117. SECRETARY ZAMBON to the CHIEFS OF THE TEN.

The day before yesterday Lodovico Dalle Armi arrived in this city. He left Vicenza postwise on the 23rd August.

By his letters, which this King received three days before I could speak to his Majesty, Lodovico continued to disseminate many apologies for his misdeeds, not only in this city, but also at the Court, whither he went, chiefly to give his own account to the members of the Privy Council, supposing that the charges against him would be referred to it; so, as the Chancellor, who by his rank comes next to the King, was in London, I went to him yesterday morning, and read to him my statement to the King about Lodovico, and his Majesty's reply; telling his Excellency also that the case alleged by Paget, which took place three years ago at Venice, was a very different one, Lodovico having been first admonished by your Lordships to live quietly at Venice; and then, from respect for his Majesty, he was allowed to depart, although he had confessed to having been with those who attacked the captain and his guard, etc.

The Chancellor listened to me as graciously as possible, evincing great regret for what the said Lodovico had done; ridiculing his excuses, and admitting the truth and soundness of my arguments. He answered me thus, "I am very sorry that this Lodovico, who is

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by this time one of our people (*uno de nostri*), should have committed offences (*errori*) of the nature that you tell me. In six days I hope to be at the Court, where, should this matter be treated in the Council, I promise you freely to state my opinion, which is, that these things displease me; and remain well assured that the King will act in such a way that the Signory will know how great a difference his Majesty deservedly makes between the information given by the Signory and the excuses of Lodovico."

The Bishop of Winchester then thanked me greatly for having on the 2nd instant sent his letters to the courier despatched by me to Antwerp, who was still at Dover on the 4th, being detained by stress of weather, the letters having been returned to his Excellency.

Tomorrow I think of returning to the Court to hear the news, and also to perform offices with Paget and some other members of the Council in conformity with the intention of your most illustrious Lordships, to whom I most humbly recommend myself.

London, 6th September 1545.

[*Italian, signed.*]

Sept. 10. Venetian Archives.

118. SECRETARY ZAMBON to the CHIEFS OF THE TEN.

Since writing my last to your Lordships I returned to the Court, and seeing that Lodovico Dalle Armi had greatly diminished his imputations, deferring chiefly to the Secretary of State, I therefore returned to Paget, telling him that from respect for this King you again tolerated that captains and soldiers should muster at Venice and other places of yours, contrary to what you had ever previously permitted, and endeavouring to show by other arguments, as I had done to the Chancellor, how different were the crimes of this Lodovico and his comrades from the case of those alleged to me by Paget who, three years ago in Venice, defended the house of the French ambassador, insomuch that the English ambassador, to whom your Lordships had communicated these circumstances, knowing their truth and the evil deeds of Lodovico, had answered your Lordships that those acts will greatly displease his Majesty, who well knows that your Excellencies cannot act otherwise than you do, Harvel [the English ambassador at Venice] affirming that he will never support or favour any one of such a sort.

While I was continuing my detail of these circumstances to Paget, and explaining to him what I had read to his Majesty and subsequently told the Chancellor about the said Lodovico Dalle Armi, Paget, interrupting me, said:

"I have heard everything, for his Majesty told me all you read to him; and as to what you subsequently said to the Chancellor about Lodovico Dalle Armi, our ambassador had no such commission, and answered the Signory unduly. But to tell you the truth, whatever Lodovico did either from malice, boasting, or ignorance, we cannot consider it well done; and now that he has returned to us, the King, considering what you told his Majesty the other day, will no longer speak to him. Lodovico hoped (from what he did for his Majesty, which was much, but we also promise ourselves much more from him in future) to be well looked on by the King, and seeing that

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owing to your information the King will not speak to him, he complains to every one, saying that Count Curio, represented by you as being seriously wounded, is but slightly scarred on the face, which to say the truth is a great offence at Venice. Lodovico now demands that you be content to appear with him in our Council, and to say in his presence what you said to the King; Lodovico choosing to clear himself from all the charges brought against him by you."

I replied, "Well should I beware of doing such a thing, as in my opinion it is unsuitable that I, being the servant of my most illustrious Lords, and a public person, should come for judgment, and at strife, with a private individual, or that I should manifest to a private man what I have been commanded to make known to the King of England. Had he chosen, Lodovico was able to excuse himself elsewhere. To repeat in the Council what I told the King, without the intervention of Lodovico, is incumbent on me; nay, I pray your Lordship that when this case is proposed in Council, convenience be given me that I also, without the intervention of Lodovico, may inform its members of the truth. Afterwards in my absence you can hear Lodovico if you please; but that I should come with him to the Council as an equal to dispute, does not seem becoming to me, as I said, nor will I do it without commission." "Well," said Paget, "this has often been done by the Imperial ambassador here, who in the case of some corsair, came often into our Council to confute him. There is, therefore, no necessity for you to inform the Council, if you do not wish Lodovico to be present at it. I will propose the matter in the Council, because, as I told you, the King repeated to me all you read to him." Paget then said, "Let us divest ourselves, I, of the person of the King's councillor, and you, of Secretary of the Signory, and let us talk a little together as private friends. We also have strict (*gravi*) and severe laws that no one do offend or kill his fellow man, notwithstanding which, from respect for some prince and lord we in many cases do not proceed with the usual severity. If in similar cases, the Signory chooses to proceed with the utmost severity, they may doubtless do so if it pleases them, yet it has been seen, as you tell me, that from respect for the King of England they allowed Lodovico to depart after he had attacked the guard. This I tell you (Paget said to me) as a private friend; and if the Signory acts graciously by any one else they have cause to do so by Lodovico, for I assure you he is as good a servant of the Signory as any one else; and I could show you many of his letters written to the King, at the present time, full of the good treatment he received from the Signory, of their wisdom, of the grandeur of their government, exhorting his Majesty on various accounts to hold them very dear and friendly, and coming to the conclusion, that in the whole world there was no State their equal."

I replied, "Sir, then for these causes, and for this good treatment, Lodovico was the more bound to beware of offending the subjects of that most illustrious State, and the State likewise, by his misdeeds, which my most illustrious Lords are certain have greatly displeased the King, so that their Lordships having been

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unable to seize Lodovico, his Majesty will take such proceedings against him as to prove to the whole world that what he did was contrary to his Majesty's mind." Paget replied, "What can we do rightfully here against Lodovico even had he put more men to death in the Signory's state? Do you object to his being secure in England, after having committed the error in Italy (*havendo fatto l'error in Italia*)? This would infringe our liberty."

I replied that crimes like these of Lodovico offend international law (*il publico*), most especially he having had the walls of Treviso scaled, and that neither here nor elsewhere ought any respect to be had for him, as he who offends one friend offends the other, many instances being witnessed of this in similar cases of Læsæ Majestatis; wherefore the English Government ought promptly to proceed against Lodovico, that the whole world may be convinced that his actions displeased the King and were against his will. But Paget insisted that the King should make no farther demonstration against Lodovico.

I informed the Privy Seal* also, a personage not only of great authority in the Council, but who always eats (*mangia*) and converses with his Majesty, and although I comprehended that his Lordship greatly disapproved of these circumstances, I nevertheless found that he was almost of Paget's opinion about taking any proceedings here against Lodovico.

London, 10th September 1545.

[*Italian, signed and addressed.*]

Sept. 20. Venetian Archives.

119. SECRETARY ZAMBON to the CHIEFS OF THE TEN.

The King allowed Lodovico Dalle Armi to enter his presence yesterday, receiving him as graciously as possible. It is affirmed at the Court that he will be sent shortly by his Majesty with an honourable commission beyond sea.

London, 20th September 1545.

[*Italian, signed and addressed.*]

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Jan. 3. Venetian Archives.

120. SECRETARY ZAMBON to the CHIEFS OF THE TEN.

Four nights ago I received the letters of your Lordships of the Ten, dated 10th December, with those addressed to this King, about the safe conduct made by you for Lodovico Dalle Armi for five years. On the morrow I went to Hampton Court, where the King is, and having given him to understand that I had letters from your Lordships to present to him, his Majesty appointed me audience for today; so I presented myself this evening, and as enjoined me by your Lordships, I stated their contents to him with every demonstration of that observance and goodwill which is borne by your Lordships to his Majesty. At the commencement the King evinced such wish to hear this reply as is usually seen in things much desired and expected. He listened to the letters and to all that I said to him attentively, admitting the apology for the delay of your reply

* John Lord Russell, Earl of Bedford.

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as a true and valid excuse. According as it occurred to me in my conversation to make mention and often to repeat the good will of your Lordships, your ancient friendship, and vast observance for this most serene King, and on the other hand the good will and disposition of his Majesty and his extreme benevolence towards the Republic, so did the King, by his countenance, with the head, and by every other external sign, accompany my words, admitting and confirming what I said to him. Without doubt I clearly comprehended that what I said to him was very agreeable, but more than anything else, beyond comparison, that your Lordships had chosen to make the aforesaid safe conduct, that his Majesty and the whole world may know the esteem in which your Lordships hold him; his Majesty adding, "Those Lords have conceded safe conduct to Lodovico for five years and no longer;" and I telling his Serenity that by law your Lordships could not make similar safe conducts for a longer time, in the manner your Lordships charge me to do, the King said to me laughing, "On the expiration of these five years, those Lords may prolong them;" but, without making farther rejoinder, I took occasion to tell the King that the disturbances caused by the outrages of said Lodovico were insufficient to alter in any way your Lordships' good mind towards his Majesty, knowing for certain that they were contrary to his Majesty's intention.

His Majesty, interrupting me, then said, "Yes, in truth, those outrages greatly displeased me, and I assure you that Lodovico also, so far as I can comprehend, repents much of them. He certainly suspected that those of the guard were Frenchmen; nor will Lodovico henceforth give the Signory farther cause for resentment." The King then asked me whether the safe conduct included Lodovico Dalle Armi and his followers? I replied that the letters did not contain more than I had read to him.

"What then (said his Majesty) can Lodovico do, without his followers (*senza i sui*)? My ambassador* spoke to the Signory for the said Lodovico and for his followers (*et per li sui*)."

His Majesty, after thinking some time about this, and having let me finish my discourse, in which I again rejoined about the Signory's good will for his Majesty, said and repeated to me several times, most especially when I took leave, "I pray you thank the Signory in my name heartily for this pleasure they have done me."

As your Lordships desire me, I then communicated what I had done to the Chancellor, who returned many thanks to your Lordships for the account in which you hold him, and offered me his favour very readily for whatever you may need.

London, 3rd January 1546.

P.S.—Lodovico Dalle Armi came to see me, and announced the receipt of a message from the Court, how much your Lordships (at the suit of his Majesty) have conceded him; adding that he expects the King to send him to Venice in a few days, and requesting me, with infinite reverence and submission towards your Lordships, to thank

* Harvel. (See before.)

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you most humbly in his name, assuring you that he has never lived arrogantly here, but as becomes a voluntary servant who always wishes to be loyal to your Lordships.

[*Italian, signed and addressed.*]

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Feb. 26. Cancelleria Ducale, Dispacci dall' Inghilterra, Archives of Modena.

121. LODOVICO MONTIO to HERCULES II., DUKE of FERRARA.

Three hearses (*depositi*) were made after the fashion of the country, with wax-work, and silk, and painting, and statues, which cost a world of money; the first in Westminster, where it remained for twenty days, all the Lords of the realm going thither to the mass and offices and praying for that soul,* which, by reason of its excellent qualities (*per le sue ottime parti*), had in my opinion very little need of them. In the meanwhile gowns or cloth were given to all the servants; to the gentlemen 20 yards, to the lords 60, and to the meanest official 10 yards at least; so that with those who carried the lighted torches (they alone being on foot) in number 500, and those who accompanied them, they and their horses being all clad in mourning (*vestiti a lutto*), we numbered at least six thousand, and were divided into three companies (*in tre gonfaloni*). The body, wrought statue-wise, was very like,† and most sumptuously apparelled, being ornamented with so many jewels and of such great value that it would be long to tell, but on it I certainly counted upwards of 500 most important ones (*importantissime*); it was placed on a very stately car (*carro*) drawn by eight horses, all covered, like the pages, with black velvet. I say nothing of the horses covered with black and gold which accompanied the procession, nor of the many lords and princes who followed it, all of them in mourning.

On the first day [14th February],‡ the procession got to Sion, where there was the second hearse (*il segondo deposito*), no less magnificent (*honorata*) than the first; and on the morrow to Windsor, where there was the third hearse (*il terzo deposito*), the grandest of all (*degnissimo di tutti*). Two days were spent there in constant prayer (*in continove orazioni*), [Thomas Cranmer] the Archbishop officiating. These ceremonies being ended, the lords broke their staves as usual, and returned in greater haste than they would have done to London, had it not been for the great urgency.

I cannot but say that in my opinion there has died the honour, majesty, magnanimity, and wisdom of a host of lords and princes, for I know that he manifested this to the whole world at this death, by leaving his affairs, or those of his son, under such good custody and government, he having nominated certain sage persons, all of them being his elect and faithful friends, under whose guardianship his son is to remain until his eighteenth year; arranging all things so well that there can be no mistake, and they must prosper. The method used is such that not the slightest murmur has been heard amongst this fickle and self-willed population (*queste genti si volubili et*

* King Henry VIII.

† "*Il corpo fatto in statua simile assai.*" The King's effigy was apparently wrought in wax, as may be inferred from the foregoing mention of that material.

‡ See Lingard, v. 116, footnote.

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voluntarosi), everything proceeding with all concord and union, and following solely the will of the great testator.

New dukes have been created, namely, the uncle of our young King (*del nostro novellino Re*), and the son of the late Duke of Suffolk, and also marquises, earls, and other lords; and finally they crowned their King, in the midst of much rejoicing and felicity, and with endless pageants, jousts, and revels. The son is ten years old, and so sagely had his father prepared and adapted all the other affairs of the kingdom, that everything is provided for, and already proceeding according to his wish.

The members of the Council and government are 16, and the junta eight. The Protector and Governor of the realm is the Duke of Somerset, the uncle of the new King (*del Re novellino*), but he can do little or nothing without these 16, who are the royal executors, and all moved by one will and mind, they also being those on whom the entire burden rests.

His Majesty King Edward VI. was crowned on the 20th; he is a youth of very fine qualities, his figure and physiognomy divine, his gestures, forms, manners, and fashions most regal, and of great hope, considering his tender years, he having been so well educated that he assuredly gives promise of not differing greatly in dignity from his father, which may it please the Almighty to increase in him.

All the peers of the realm were present at this ceremony, including 16 bishops, whose ornaments and horses are not to be told, but they were very superb and magnificent; and such is the youth's affability that he has made himself adored by such of his subjects as are so fortunate as to have seen him. Nor will I omit to mention that when the Archbishop anointed him, telling him what he was to promise and observe, and what it signified to be King, whom it behoved, amongst other things, to defend his people and the Church of God with the sword, concerning this Church he asked him "What Church?" and when the Archbishop explained to him that "the Church" signified the faithful and the gospel, he then replied that with his whole heart he would do so.

I pass over in silence many other things, such as the entertainments, revels, jousts, games, public banquets, and other customary ceremonies, which took place without any disturbance; wherefore I perceive that at so tender an age (*così tenerino*) he is a King of much importance, and of far greater than is supposed; nor is this said to induce any steps on the part of your Excellency, whom alone I adore, but many princes send hither to perform offices of condolence and congratulation. Your Excellency is sage, and in your name I have already performed this office with the Lord Secretary and the Lord Protector, as I know your Excellency will infinitely regret the loss of so great a master and friend, and that you will in like manner be greatly consoled to know with what joy the coronation was solemnized of the young King (*novellino Re*), the son of him who was so much your lord and friend.

London, 26th February 1547.

P.S.—Two days ago, on the Scottish borders, our people (*nostri*) engaged the Scots, and so ardently that ours won the day; there

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being here nevertheless Scottish ambassadors, who are treating an agreement.

[*Italian, signed.*]

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July 17. Venetian Archives.

122. THE GOVERNORS OF BRESCIA to the CHIEFS OF THE COUNCIL OF TEN.

Although we delayed answering your Lordships' letter of the 21st ult., we lost no time in executing the orders given us, we also desiring first of all for the honour of God, and then for your satisfaction, to ascertain all that was possible, that you might make such provision as shall seem necessary and opportune in so important a matter.

You must therefore know that we have heard from persons, trustworthy and good Christians, that at Gardon, a town in this province of Brescia at the entry of Valtrupia, there made his appearance a renegade friar, who preaches in the Lutheran fashion, and amongst other heinous and wicked things done by him in that place, the mass is no longer said there publicly, because this iniquitous friar is favoured by some of the chief inhabitants of that town, and he has also a physician there, who is of great assistance to him; so that through these two pestiferous tongues many of the chief inhabitants of Gardon are infected with this accursed Lutheran heresy; and your Excellencies will see by the enclosed copy what these two individuals preach.

So long back as last February, a most horrible and fearful complaint was made to us about a Franciscan priest, heretofore a friar, that this most iniquitous man had uttered such base and nefarious things about our Lord Jesus Christ, and the mass, and the eucharist, that we believe that demons would not only not repeat them, but would be horrified to hear them issue from the mouth of this accursed man, as your Lordships will see by the accompanying complaint and process.* We also enquired of the reverend Vicar if there were other processes about these Lutheran affairs in that Chancery, and he and his Chancellor told me (*m' ha detto*) that the Bishop suffragan, who was here, and departed hence two months ago, took information on the subject, but did not proceed to draw up the process, because he would not consent that the jurists (*dottori*) of the city, according to an edict of the Council of Ten, should interfere, and this information he took away with him. We pray your Excellencies that in this most important matter, which concerns rebellion against God the Saviour, and against the Catholic Church, you will please to enact, that these ecclesiastics be not impeded by any layman in drawing up processes and sentences against priests and friars, but as to secular heretics that there be present solely the Governors with their officials; referring ourselves always to the very sage judgment of your most excellent

* Not found.

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Lordships, whom we pray, concerning this most important act, to give us such orders as shall seem fit to you.

Brescia, 17th July 1550. Rectores Brixiæ.

[*Italian.*]

July 17. Venetian Archives.

123. ARTICLES of the LUTHERANS at GARDON in the Brescian territory.

1. They deny that Christ is corporally (*realmente*) in the Eucharist and say that if He were in masticating Him the bone would be heard to break.

2. They deny the necessity of baptism, and baptize no one.

3. They deny that the sacrament of penance is necessary.

4. They say it is folly (*pazzia*) to say mass for the living and the dead.

5. They say there are no festivals in the year, but that all the days are alike, and they would wish all the days to be without distinction.

6. They say the Pope is Antichrist.

7. They say there is no head but only Christ.

8. They say that acknowledging (*dato*) those we call heads (*capi*), they have nevertheless no authority except that of assembling congregations (*di congregare*).

9. They have broken the figures of the Saints, saying that they are masks and deformities (*maschare et scaravaggi*).

10. They deny that the Church is that of the faithful.

11. They deny free will.

12. They deny Purgatory.

[*Italian.*]

1552.

Aug. 12. Lettere sottoscritte, Terra Serenissima Signoria, Venetian Archives.

124. The DOGE and SENATE to GIACOMO SORANZO, Venetian Ambassador in England.

Our right faithful citizens Giacomo and Placito Regazoni are now trading in London, and from our prudent citizen Benetto Ragazzoni,* their father, we understand that a certain sum of money belonging to them has been drawn out of the Mint (*Zecca*) there, by Agneli, so at their aforesaid father's request we charge you both for the said money's recovery, as likewise in all other just and reasonable matters, to favour our aforesaid citizens, as we are sure you will do, proceeding always with reserve and due circumspection.

[*Italian, signed.*]

Dec. 17. Lettere sottoscritte, Mar Serenissima Signoria, Venetian Archives.

125. The DOGE and SENATE to GIACOMO SORANZO, Venetian Ambassador in England.

Wrote to him lately in recommendation of their most faithful citizen Giacomo Ragazzoni, with regard to his suit (*causa*) before the most illustrious Royal Council of England, which suit has been

* In the original document the surname of these merchants is spelt variously as in my translation.

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now brought to good terms, although it is not entirely despatched; and as our said faithful subject again might happen to require your assistance and authority, being requested by his kinsfolk here, we charge you to obtain the speedy and good settlement of this suit.

[*Italian, signed.*]

[1554.] [May ?] Cancelleria Ducale, Istruzioni per l'Inghilterra, Archives of Modena.*

126. INSTRUCTION from HERCULES II. of Este, DUKE OF FERRARA, to his Ambassador COUNT CAMILLO MONTECUCOLO.

You will endeavour to go with all speed to England, where on your arrival you will address yourself to his Excellency Don Ferrante [Gonzaga], should he be there, or if not to Lord Paget, or to one of the chief personages now charged with the government of that kingdom. You will endeavour to be admitted into the presence of the Queen, and after very respectfully kissing her hands in our name, you will represent to her that by reason of the ancient duty (*servitù*) of our predecessors, and especially of our grandfather and father of auspicious memory, in which we continued, with their Majesties her ancestors, and especially with the most invincible King her father, we felt the greatest imaginable satisfaction at seeing that in the revolutions of that kingdom, her Majesty through the assistance of our Lord God, together with her own prudence, ability, and true religion, has overcome those who had the daring to oppose her Majesty's will; and as since her birth her Majesty has always shown herself worthy of that royal race in all her actions, and has now demonstrated to the world her rare judgment by this most propitious marriage with the Prince of Spain, we congratulate her Majesty on it, with our whole heart, and with the greatest mental affection possible, really trusting that from so very Christian a connexion welfare will result universally to States present and future, and some day cause peace between these two great Princes [the Emperor and the King of France], and that Heaven may concede all happiness to the descendants of so felicitous a union, praying the Almighty to grant them all that her Majesty herself desires and as may be reasonably expected from the Divine goodness, she having been and being so intrepid a protectress of the true religion of Christ.

After performance of this office with the Queen you will endeavour by means of Don Ferrante [Gonzaga] and the Duke of Alva to congratulate in like manner the Prince of Spain, presenting him with one of the two letters of credence which you have with you, taking the advice of the aforesaid Don Ferrante, as one of them will be with the title of "Prince of Spain," and the other of "King of England. You will regulate yourself according to his Excellency's suggestion, and then dilate with his Majesty on this matter of congratulation as we have commissioned you to do that he may know we have derived so much infinite pleasure from

* This "Instruction" has no date of year, month, or place, but in the Foreign Calendar "Mary" it is seen that on the 3rd June 1554, Count Montecuculo was at Brussels on the eve of departure for England, and that he was present at the Queen's marriage on the 25th July.

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all such augmentation and exaltation as accrues to his Majesty, that greater cannot be felt by any of his devoted servants; this to be done in case that on your arrival in England the Prince also should have got there, but if not you will despatch everything with the Queen as above, awaiting the arrival of his aforesaid Majesty, with whom likewise you will then do as aforesaid, remaining in that kingdom until after the marriage, whereupon you will return to us.

On dismounting, as you will do, at the house of our ambassador at the Court of the Emperor [at Brussels], you will communicate everything to him, and then endeavour to obtain an audience, and on going to his right reverend Lordship (*sic*) you will ask for audience of the Emperor, explaining to the said right reverend Lord, and to his Imperial Majesty, the cause of your going to England; but should the Emperor be indisposed, or occupied, so as to delay your journey, you will apologize to the aforesaid "Monsignor," and request him on our behalf to be pleased to give account of it tohis Majesty, and excuse your departure by reason of your haste to execute the commissions given to you by us in this matter, and to get to England before the arrival there of the most Serene Prince.

You will also have with you, besides those already mentioned, two blank signatures, one for the Regent Figueroa, the other for the Secretary Vargas, with drafts of the letters accrediting you, to be written above them, the reason being, that we do not know their titles, which you will ascertain on arriving at the Court, and have the letters written accordingly on the said blanks, presenting them with such courteous expressions and offers as shall seem fit to you; and as the Regent Figueroa had us written to several times by our ambassador concerning the peace, we will that when visiting him (should it thus seem fit to the aforesaid ambassador) you do commence conversing with his Lordship about the said peace, assuring him of the wish and good will we have to see these two Princes [the Emperor and the King of France] well united together, chiefly for the quiet of their Majesties, and for the universal benefit of all Christendom. On the other hand should the ambassador think this inopportune, you will regulate yourself according to his suggestion.

[Ferrara, May 1554.]

[*Italian.*]

June 9.

Cancelleria Ducale, Dispacci dall' Inghilterra, Archives of Modena.

127. CAMILLO MONTECUCOLLI to HERCULES II. of Este, DUKE OF FERRARA.

On the 7th instant I arrived here, the Queen being seven miles off, and she is said to have departed on her way to meet the Prince as soon as she gets the news of his arrival. She having withdrawn chiefly for her amusement, I, on my arrival, determined not to go to her until I had acquainted myself with the proceedings of this Court and its customs. In the meanwhile I sent in quest of that Messer Bernardino Ferraro* of her Majesty's household (*che sta*

* Called in England Barnardino Ferrarien, an "old friend of the Bishop of Norwich." (See Foreign Calendar, "Mary," 1554, April 7, p. 70.)

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con sua Maestà), who fortunately for me came to London the day after my arrival, and I asked his advice about my going to the Queen immediately. We settled that it was better to send to ask for audience of her Majesty; and it seemed well to him that I should go to visit the Lord Chancellor of Winchester [Stephen Gardiner], who is the Queen's prime minister and rules the kingdom. I went and made him many offers in your Excellency's name, praying his right reverend Lordship to let the Queen know of my arrival and the cause of my coming, requesting audience of her. He answered me that I had done well not to go to her Majesty until I had said something to him about it, telling me that he shall go to her today or tomorrow, and will let me know when I am to pay my respects to her, and that I must not leave London until I have advice from him, as he thinks that next Monday, the 11th, I shall infallibly have audience. From what I hear the Queen remains at that place in great gladness. The members of her Council go to her, and she does nothing but what they tell her, they being 12 in number, and on my return I will bring all their names.

The arrival of the Prince of Spain is expected hourly, as since upwards of six days the wind here has been fair for him.

The greater part of the peers of this realm have come hither to put their servants into livery (*vestir li suoi servitori de concerto*), and furnish their houses (*et abigliar le loro casse*) (*sic*), they being of opinion that there will be entertainments and military games (*feste et cavagliarie*).

London, 9th June 1554.

[*Italian, signed.*]

July 10. **128.** The SAME to the SAME.

Cancelleria Ducale, Dispacci dall' Inghilterra, Archives of Modena.

The Prince has not yet arrived, though his coming cannot be long delayed, according to advices had through a ship bound from Spain to Flanders, purporting that he had certainly embarked, and today a report circulated over London that the fleet had been seen on the high sea. This news is a mere public rumour, but his coming cannot be much longer delayed, the preparations for it being made in great haste.

Yesterday the ambassador from Florence arrived in London, and with him was Pariglio [the confidant ?] of Don Francisco; when at a distance of 20 miles from London he sent to say where he was, whither all the Florentine merchants here, some 20 in number, went to meet him. From what I have been able to elicit he will not go to pay his respects to the Queen until the Prince arrives, and I rather think he will not leave London, as your Excellency's ambassador wrote to me from Brussels that the Emperor has sent hither ordering no ambassador of any sort to go beyond London, but to await the Prince here. The ambassadors of the King of the Romans and of Bohemia are still in London, nor have they ever left it. The Regent Figueroa has also arrived here for his passage to Spain, bringing with him, I am told, many

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hangings (*molti razzi*) of gold, silver, and silk made as a present for the Prince, the Emperor having had them wrought at Antwerp.

London, 10th July 1554.

[*Italian, signed.*]

Aug. 14. Mantuan Archives.

129. QUEEN MARY to HERCULES GONZAGA, Cardinal Regent of Mantua.

His letter of congratulation delivered by his ambassador, the Bishop of Nola, announcing that good will of which she had already heard from the discourse of others, and which is now not only notified by letter, but confirmed in person by his own envoy, gave her great pleasure, which being unable entirely to express in writing she has given this charge to the Bishop of Nola, who will tell him more fully about her mutual regard, and other transactions concerning him in England.

Richmond Palace, 14th August 1554.

[*Latin, countersigned by the Bishop of St. Asaph's.*]

Aug. 31. Parti Comuni, Consiglio X., XXI. 124., Venetian Archives.

130. MOTION made in the COUNCIL of TEN and JUNTA.

That the [armoury] halls of this Council, and the Sanctuary of the jewels of St. Mark, be shown to Mr. Richard Bartu (Bertie), husband of the Duchess of Suffolk [Katherine Willoughby] of the Kingdom of England.

Ayes 17; noes 0; neutral 0.

[*Italian.*]

Sept. 26. Lettere sottoscritte, Mar Serenissima Signoria, Venetian Archives.

131. The DOGE and SENATE to GIOVANNI MICHIEL, Venetian Ambassador in England.

By the enclosed copy you will see what was conceded on the 21st of last June* to our beloved noble Francesco Bernardo, knight, concerning the credits claimed by him from that crown. Wishing him to obtain from her Majesty just compensation for the loss of the three ships, we charge you to render all possible aid as you shall consider fitting, both with the Queen and with her Royal Council.

26th September 1554.

[*Italian, signed.*]

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Jan. 4. Mantuan Archives.

132. Secretary CAROLUS POLUS to the DUCHESS of MANTUA.

Received her congratulatory letter of the 12th October, with regard to the Queen's pregnancy, which still proceeds auspiciously, giving hope of such prosperous result as is desired for the complete comfort and quiet of this realm. Has congratulated her Majesty in the Duchess's name. The Queen seemed very much to value such loving affection, and to be well aware of the Duchess's rare piety and virtue, and to love her as she deserves.

* See Venetian Calendar, v., 515; and in the same volume, p. 220, date 9 July 1547, it is seen that it had been proposed in the Senate to compel Francesco Bernardo to renounce the pensions received by him from the Kings of France and England.

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Rejoices with the Duchess at the prosperous course of religious matters in England.

London, 4th January 1555.

Postscript.—Through the Secretary of the Marquis her son-in-law, has now received the Duchess's last letter of the 18th December, congratulating herself on the happy result which it has pleased the Almighty to concede to the affairs of the [Roman Catholic] religion in England. With this opportunity he also performed with the King the office desired by her Excellency, acquainting him with her great affection for his Majesty, who seemed greatly to value this demonstration, and extreme piety.

[*Italian, signed.*]

[Oct ?] **133.** CARDINAL POLE to KING PHILIP.

MS. St. Mark's Library. Cod. XXIV., Cl. X. pp. 239, verso, 240 recto. Printed in Vol. V. 57, 58, "Epistolarum Reginaldi Poli."

Regrets the project for the Emperor's voyage to Spain, especially at this season of the year, which is the most perilous of any, and because were the wind fair for his Imperial Majesty it would doubtless prove very contrary for the return to England of King Philip, which would be so necessary for the country, especially at present until the better establishment of affairs, which as yet are very fluctuating, and as daily experienced by us they veer with every wind. Will say nothing of the bitter and grievous effect produced by his protracted absence on the Queen, on whose health and tranquillity the welfare of the realm depends. That the Emperor should think of withdrawing himself from public business when the Christian Commonwealth is harrassed by such serious warfare, seems no less detrimental to his honour than the winter voyage to his health, his renown and glory being no less affected by abstaining from counsel than by retiring from a battle. If Pole thought his prayers could have any effect upon the Emperor, the Channel would not prevent him from flying to his feet to obtain the delay of his voyage until after the winter, during which interval by peace or truce matters might be so regulated as to enable him to depart with dignity, leaving the administration of his kingdoms at a more fitting time to King Philip, whose presence in England would in the meanwhile admirably serve to confirm what is wanting for its stability (*statum*), and to comfort the Queen, thus simultaneously comforting all good men. Should Pole's prayers not take effect with the Emperor, the matter is well worthy of the King's support both for himself, for Pole, and for the country, which by the grace of God is acknowledged by all to be recommended to him, no less than the entire Christian commonwealth. In the meanwhile will pray God, who has the hearts of kings in His hand, that their Majesties may take such counsel as may turn to His honour, to their dignity, and to the advantage of the whole Christian commonwealth.

[London, October 1555 ?]

[*Latin.*]

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Nov. 23. Original Letter Book penes me. Letter No. 24, pp. 63–65.

134. BERNARDO NAVAGERO, Venetian Ambassador at Rome, to the DOGE and SENATE.*

The French Cardinals Lorraine and Tournon at length arrived here on the day before yesterday; both one and the other of them chose to avoid ceremonies and meetings [before entering Rome], and Lorraine [Louis de Guise, uncle of Mary Queen of Scots] went to dismount at the apartments of Cardinal Caraffa in the palace. On the morrow, which was yesterday, they, together with Cardinal Caraffa, remained for four hours with the Pope. On the first evening Tournon was received by Cardinal Farnese in his palace, but I understand that he will have apartments in the Pope's palace. Will endeavour to let your Serenity know what news they bring.

Rome, 23rd November 1555.

[*Italian.*]

Dec. 7. Original Letter Book. Venetian Archives. 3rd letter. (See Venetian Cal. vi. 273.)

135. BERNARDO NAVAGERO, Venetian Ambassador at Rome, to the CHIEFS of the COUNCIL OF TEN.

I hear that before the Cardinals of Lorraine and Tournon came hither, when there was a question about the lodging to be assigned to Lorraine, the Cardinal of Carpi [Rodolfo Pio] said, "That of the Inquisition will never fail him,"† which having been repeated to Lorraine, and this antagonism (*una simil oppositione*), as it ought to do, having stung him to the quick, he a few days ago, in the presence of the French ambassador, kneeling at the Pope's feet, demanded justice and reparation of his honour, renouncing the cardinalate and his commission from the most Christian King. On hearing these words, the French ambassador approached, he having been at a little distance, and added, "Holy Father, I demand justice of your Holiness in the name of my King against the Cardinal here present, as his Majesty, being most Christian, neither can nor will tolerate that any of his subjects entertain opinions contrary to such as are Catholic, especially those who are so dear to him as the right reverend of Lorraine; and I, therefore, who, as the King's minister, know his intention, beseech your Holiness to proceed against this Cardinal without respect, it having been said that for his palace and lodging the palace of the Inquisition would never fail him." The Pope, confused and provoked by these words of the Cardinal and of the ambassador, enquired the cause of their utterance, and, evincing resentment equal to theirs, chose to hear why they had made these complaints to his Holiness; so after some becoming reluctance, they told him what I wrote above about Cardinal Carpi. To this the Pope replied, sighing, and quite in a fume, "It is enough, we shall well know what to do;" and embracing the Cardinal of Lorraine, he said, "You are our beloved son, and the

* As a key to Navagero's despatches to the Council of Ten, some of those destined by him for the Senate are now added to his correspondence.

† From this epigrammatic comment it may be inferred that Louis de Guise, like his fellow cardinals, Pole, Morone, and Bertano, was suspected of heresy, though for political reasons Paul IV. did not think it expedient to doubt his orthodoxy.

1555.

ornament of the Sacred College: those who willed to slander you shall themselves be condemned."

Rome, 7th December 1555.

[*Italian.*]

[1555.] MS. St. Mark's Library, Cod. XXIV., Cl. X. pp. 208 verso, and 209 recto.

136. OPINION of the most Serene QUEEN of ENGLAND, which she wrote with her own hand and gave to his Right Reverend Lordship the Legate [Cardinal Pole] at the time when the Synod was held. (Translated from the English tongue.)

First.—I should wish that all the Church property, which for the discharge of our conscience the King my husband and I have totally renounced, should be distributed as shall seem best to my Lord Cardinal and to the rest of you, so that what has been commenced for the increase of the religion in this kingdom, may produce its due effect.

Secondly.—I desire that the preachers by their piety and doctrine do smother and extinguish all those errors and false opinions disseminated and spread abroad by the late preachers, making provision at the same time that no book be printed, sold, or purchased, or brought into the kingdom, without our licence, and under very strict penalties.

Thirdly.—I should deem it well for the churches and universities of this kingdom to be visited by such persons as my Lord Cardinal and we may know to be fit and sufficient, to execute what is requisite in this matter.

Fourthly.—Touching the punishment of heretics, I believe it would be well to inflict punishment at this beginning, without much cruelty or passion, but without however omitting to do such justice on those who choose by their false doctrine to deceive simple persons, that the people may clearly comprehend that they have not been condemned without just cause, whereby others will be brought to know the truth, and will beware of letting themselves be induced to relapse (*ridur a cader più*) into such new and false opinions. And above all I should wish that no one be burned in London (*e sopratutto desidererei che in Londra non fusse abrusato alcuno*) save in the presence of some member of the Council; and that during such executions, both here and elsewhere, some good and pious sermons be preached, &c.

Fifthly.—I really believe it to be by no means fitting for a plurality of benefices to be placed in the hands of one individual, but that they should be so distributed that each priest may be resident and have care of his flock, whereas at present quite the reverse is seen, to which I attribute so great a lack of preachers throughout this kingdom; nor are they of such a sort as they ought to be, so as by their doctrine to overcome the diligence of false preachers in the time of the schism, and also by leading an exemplary life, without which, in my opinion, their sermons would not be of so much profit as I could wish; and in like manner as their good example will, through them, effect great good, so I acknowledge myself to be very greatly bound on my part also to give the like example by aiding in the disposition and maintenance of

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such persons, that they may perform their office and duty well; not forgetting, on the other hand, to have those punished who shall do the contrary, that it may serve as a very evident example to the whole of this kingdom of how I discharge my conscience in this matter, and administer justice, by doing so.

[*Italian.*]

1556.
Jan. 11.
Original Letter Book. Venetian Archives.

137. BERNARDO NAVAGERO, Venetian Ambassador at Rome, to the CHIEFS of the COUNCIL OF TEN.

The most noble Pietro Contarini, son of the late Messer Zaccaria, came and told me that the Cardinal of Trani [Bernardino Scoto] had come to him by the Pope's order, because his Holiness had heard that at Gardone* certain heretics, in contempt of the [Roman Catholic] religion, had perpetrated the enormities described in the enclosed memorial, brought to me by the said most noble Contarini. The Pope sent for Scoto and desired him to send Messer Pietro to let me know of this heinous offence, as, owing to my infirmity, I could not go to audience, and to insist on my writing to your most excellent Lordships, in his Holiness's name, that you may make such demonstration as a case of this sort deserves. In accordance with your Serenity's pious and Christian mind, I answered him that I would willingly do so, and that the crime being true your Serenity would punish them condignly.

Most excellent Lords, the Pope having the affairs of the religion so much at heart, as they in truth ought to be, not only to him, but to all Christian princes, I think it will be well for your Lordships to give me advice of what you shall do in this matter, so that when the opportunity offers I may let his Holiness know that such accidents are no less regretted by the most illustrious and Christian Republic of Venice than by any other potentate born and nurtured in the most holy faith of Christ, which in your territory you never allowed to be contaminated.

Besides the causes assigned by me in the public letters for the arrest of Giulian Cesarino, I understand that perchance the chief of them was, that after a long negotiation about giving his niece, his sister's daughter, with a fortune exceeding 70,000 crowns, to Gioan Matteo Stendardo, the Pope's seneschal and nephew, Cesarino nevertheless now excuses himself on the plea of not having authority during the life of the heiress's mother. This has enraged his Holiness and Cardinal Caraffa, and the person who told me what I write in the public letters about the Pope's conversation with the Imperial ambassadors affirms to me that in his wrath his Holiness allowed the following words to escape him: "What pride and grandeur is it, on the part of this your Cesarin, in not having chosen to match with us?"

Rome, 11th January 1556.

[*Italian.*]

* In Val Trompia, suburb of Brescia, a place with 1,300 inhabitants.

1556.
Jan. 29. Venetian Archives.

138. The GOVERNORS of BRESCIA to the CHIEFS of the COUNCIL OF TEN.

In reply to your Lordships' letter of the 25th instant about the burning of the doors of the church of Gardon of the Observantine Franciscan friars, and its being attributed to heretics, we inform your Excellencies that no complaint was made to us on account of heresy; but, as the said reverend fathers complained of the insolence done them by setting fire to the doors of their church, I "*Podestà*"* sent my judge of criminal cases to Gardon to make enquiry about this delinquency, and to draw up a process, which he did immediately, to ascertain who the malefactors were, but as the deed was done by night they have not been detected.

A few days before the receipt of your letter, I "*Podestà*," at the request of the said Franciscan friars, sent for the consuls of Gardon, who on their return thither said that in the presence of the reverend Warden they in the name of the municipality gave the said fathers four ducats on account of the restoration of the said doors, and that they were ready to supply the cost and to re-make the said doors, giving the said fathers the aforesaid four ducats received by them. To this the said Warden replied that he was content, not denying the receipt of said four ducats, on that account. It now appears that they said they received them as alms.

Brescia, 29th January 1556. Rectores Brixiæ.

[*Italian.*]

Feb. 8. Capi C.X. Lettere Secrete. Venetian Archives.

139. The CHIEFS OF THE COUNCIL OF TEN to BERNARDO NAVAGERO, Venetian Ambassador at Rome.

Having received a reply from our Governors of Brescia about what took place at Gardone, as we wrote to you in a former letter, we now send you a copy of their answer, so that if requisite you may make use of it to assure the Pope and the Cardinals of the Inquisition that we are most careful and zealous that throughout our territory the affairs of the religion shall be held in such respect as is due, and that we do not fail to perform every work and office for the safe and immaculate maintenance of that same religion.

And as the Nuncio gave us to understand that a student of Nola is in prison at Padua on a charge of heresy, we have written to the Governors of that city for information on the subject, of which we have willed to give you notice, so that if spoken to about this, and not otherwise, you may be able to reply.

[*Signed*] Hieronimo Da Leze, Capo Consº X.
Domenico Moresini, C.C.X.

[*Italian.*]

March 14. Original Letter Book, Venetian Archives. (4th letter.)†

140. BERNARDO NAVAGERO, Venetian Ambassador at Rome, to the CHIEFS of the COUNCIL OF TEN.

At the visit paid me by the Count of Montorio,‡ besides what I write, he left the enclosed writings about those people at Gardone, saying that the Pope had willed to send me them, that I might

* The titles of the Governor of Brescia were *Podestà* and *Capitanio*.

† See Vol. VI., pp. 371–374.

‡ In one of the three letters written by Navagero to the Senate there is a long account dated 14 March, of this visit, but not a word about the supposed heretics of Gardone.

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perform an office with your Lordships worthy of your piety and religion, which would be to him one of the acceptable things he might expect from that most excellent Dominion. I replied in the first place that you always desire to oblige his Holiness, and that by natural instinct you are zealous in religion and the worship of God; and I then told him what your Lordships had written to me, viz., that no complaints had been made about heresy, that certain doors had been broken open (*besrotte*) (*sic*), but by night, so that with difficulty could it be known who the delinquents were; but the municipal local authorities awarded four crowns damages, with which those friars were satisfied. To this the Count of Montorio made no rejoinder, but today at audience the Pope repeated that I was to write to your Lordships what he had sent me word by his nephew, saying that the assiduity thus used by him with your Serenity, in matters relating to religion, was because he desired your grandeur and perpetuity, to attain which he saw no better way than that of giving you frequent opportunity to show yourself the friend of religion, and averse to impiety.

His Holiness also said, "Magnifico Ambassador, what else is it, if not hatred and contempt of the faith, to break the doors of a poor monastery. That its needy inmates should have contented themselves with four crowns shows you their want of power (*la sua impotentia*), and therefore the poorer they are the more they ought to be favoured by the justice of those Lords. And with regard to the case having occurred by night, and that with difficulty could the truth be ascertained, well do we know that by rewards (*taglie*) etc., should it be chosen to use diligence, means would be found to discover those rascals, against whom if no accusation of heresy has been made, it is perhaps because the poor friars are afraid, but the delinquents are well known. We pray you, Magnifico Ambassador, beseech those Lords in our name that the cause of God be recommended to them."

Rome, 14th March 1556.

[*Italian.*]

March 14. Council of Ten and Junta, Secret motions, File No. 9, Venetian Archives.

141. MOTION made in the COUNCIL OF TEN and JUNTA by the two Chiefs Catherinus Zeno and Hermolaus Barbaro.

This Council has heard how earnestly the Pope demands Pomponio da Nola, now a prisoner at Padua, who, from what has been seen by his judicial examinations, persists in his perverse and diabolical heresies.* This individual, being his Holiness' subject,† and an obstinate heretic, and it being due to comply with his request:

* The Romish Inquisition or "Holy Office" was first established at Venice in the year 1289, the Republic acknowledging the Bull of Nicholas IV., and appointing Venetian noblemen, with the title of "assistant sages," to be present at the formation of all processes instituted by the papal Inquisitors in the Signory's territory. The "*assistenti Savij*" had merely to verify the fact that the person accused was guilty of heresy, leaving the Inquisitors to send the culprit to Rome, the last "*concordat*" with Pope Julius III. in 1551 containing the clause "*citra cognitionem et sententiam.*"

† Nola was in the kingdom of Naples, of which the Popes were the liege Lords, and the Emperor Charles V. and King Philip held it of them in fief.

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Put to the ballot that, for the gratification of his Holiness, the said Pomponio be sent to the Governor of Ravenna, that he may despatch him to his Beatitude.

Ayes, 17.

[*Italian.*]

March 14. Council of Ten and Junta, Secret motions, File No. 9. Venetian Archives.

142. LETTER to BERNARDO NAVAGERO, Venetian Ambassador at Rome, proposed to the Council of Ten and Junta by the two Chiefs of the Ten, Catherinus Zeno and Hermolaus Barbaro, and carried.

The Pope's Nuncio having requested us in his Holiness' name, according to letters from Cardinal Caraffa, that for his Beatitude's gratification we will send to him at Ravenna one Pomponio, a student (*scolaro*) at Padua, who has been arrested as a heretic, that he may be taken to his Holiness, we have been content to gratify him, and this day, with our Council of Ten and Junta, we determined to send him to Ravenna, that his Holiness' will may be done. We desire you to announce this to the Pope in such form of words as of your prudence shall seem fit to you, and you will do the like with the right reverend Cardinal aforesaid, advising the Chiefs of the said Council of having executed this command.

And be it carried that notice of this decree be given to his Holiness' reverend Nuncio.

Ayes, 23; no, 1; neutral, 1.

[*Italian.*]

March 14. Council of Ten and Junta, Secret motions, File No. 9. Venetian Archives.

143. AMENDMENT to the foregoing LETTER moved by Hironimo Zane, Chief of the Ten.*

His Holiness' reverend Nuncio, resident with us, has several times requested of us, in execution of letters received by him from Cardinal Caraffa, to send to Ravenna one Pomponio da Nola, a student at Padua, arrested as a heretic (*ritenuto per heretico*), that he may be sent to his Holiness. As these judgments (*questi giudicii*) are very well regulated at Venice, and in each city of our State, where we proceed with all diligence and severity against the delinquents, to the honour of our Lord God, and conservation and increase of our most holy faith, it seemed very new to us to be requested that a person who could and ought to be despatched by the tribunal of Padua should be sent to Rome: so with our Council of Ten and Junta we charge you to have recourse to the Pope (*debbiate conferirvi a Sua Santità*), and to let him know how we proceed in ordinary in these matters in each of our cities, where it is fitting that the cases should be despatched, most especially as the sentences are passed according to the sacred canons and constitutions enacted (*fatte*) by that Holy See, assuring his Holiness that due diligence will be used at Padua, and that he will be expedited (*expedito*) and severely punished as justice requires.

* The Chiefs of the Ten were three in number, and these two letters prove that they were not always unanimous.

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You will also perform the like office with Cardinal Caraffa, giving advice to the Chiefs of the Council of what reply is given you.

Expulsi fuerunt Papalisti.

Ayes, 3; noes, 0; neutral, 4.

[*Italian.*]

March 19. Original Letter Book. Venetian Archives. 2nd letter.

144. BERNARDO NAVAGERO, Venetian Ambassador at Rome, to the CHIEFS of the COUNCIL OF TEN.

Whilst I was standing in the antechamber waiting for audience, Cardinal Caraffa entered, on his way to the Pope, and after congratulations on his convalescence, I stated to him what your Lordships ordered me by your letter of the 14th, concerning that scholar from Nola, imprisoned for heresy (*per heretico*), whom your Serenity, at the request of the Legate (*sic*—Nuncio), had despatched to Ravenna, that he might be given to his Holiness, which he was very glad to hear, and returned endless thanks to your Serenity for it, and having gone to the Pope before me, he gave him this news; so when I entered the audience chamber and made the same statement to his Holiness, he said to me, "Our Cardinal has told it us. Know, Magnifico Ambassador, that owing to the power given by the blessed God to the Signory, they can do us many favours (*molti piaceri*), but this one is the greatest we can expect from them, as it concerns the honour of God, so we thank them infinitely, and we beseech His Majesty to give them their deserts by increasing their State as much as they desire. We rejoice much to perceive this their care for the religion, which will be their preservation, for we have seen by experience that where heresy has entered, it is followed by the confusion of cities, provinces, and kingdoms. For the love of Christ, let those Lords not fail in religion, as His Majesty will have them under His constant protection. This scholar has the reputation of a very bad (*tristo*) and wicked man; by penance, those heretics (*costoro*) must be made whole, and if they are incurable (*immedicabili*), *etsi resecandum, ne pars sincera trahatur.* In the kingdom of Naples we have laid hands on the chief families there, and of those perchance related to us, making them do penance for their sin, and of such a sort that some of them would have preferred death, for we made them go in that little habit with the crosses,* to recant in public; so they with their follies are put to confusion, and the people shun all intercourse with them. Thus is the religion defended, and the sick sheep separated from this Christian flock, which the goodness of God has committed to us. So we tell you again that for such very great pleasure done us by the Signory and that most excellent Council of Ten, we remain obliged to them, and pray God to give them every happiness."

Rome, 19th March 1556.

[*Italian.*]

* This "little habit" (*habitetto*) resembled a cassock, and was "powdered" with crosses.

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March 21. Original Letter Book. Venetian Archives.

145. BERNARDO NAVAGERO, Venetian Ambassador at Rome, to the CHIEFS of the COUNCIL OF TEN.

Having detained the foregoing letter until the 21st, the Pope's Secretary Comendone, together with the reverend Friar Michele, Commissary of the Inquisition,* came to me in the name of his Holiness and of Cardinal Caraffa, telling me that as his Holiness saw the most illustrious Republic so inclined towards the conservation of the religion, they would give them a fresh opportunity for satisfying themselves, which was this, that there being in prison at Capo d' Istria a certain Aurelio Vergerio, the nephew of Pietro Paulo Vergerio, whom he resembles, being also perhaps a yet greater heretic than he is (*et forse anco peggior nelle heresie*), your most excellent Lordships should be pleased to place him here in their hands, than which neither the Pope nor the Cardinal could receive nor expect any greater or more important favour.

Rome, 21st March 1556.

[*Italian.*]

March 28. Original Letter Book. Venetian Archives.

146. BERNARDO NAVAGERO, Venetian Ambassador at Rome, to the CHIEFS of the COUNCIL OF TEN.

I have as yet been unable to execute the orders contained in your Lordship's letters of the 21st, about the Vicar [Aurelio Vergerio] of the Bishop of Bergamo [Vettor Soranzo], who has been cited hither to the tribunal of the Inquisition, because its right reverend members have been occupied with several other matters relating to their office; so I did not press for audience of the Pope to speak about this affair, as you charged me, until I had conferred with the members of the Inquisition. From my experience of his Holiness' disposition, I know that with difficulty he will be induced to oblige your Serenity in this matter, as he would consider it an infringement of the authority and jurisdiction of this See, about which he shows himself very zealous, and choosing to have this reputation, he listens unwillingly to all those who seem to him to propose anything to the contrary, but I will do what is my duty to obtain the object desired by your Excellencies.

Rome, 28th March 1556.

[*Italian.*]

[March ?]. St. Mark's Library, Cod. XXIV. cl. X. pag. 73 verso.

147. CARDINAL POLE to the CARDINAL of MANTUA.

Thanks him for the announcement of the truce in Piedmont. Hopes it may lead to peace.

[London, March, 1556 ?]

[*Italian.*]

* Michele Ghislieri, who in 1556 was appointed commissary of the Inquisition by Paul IV., and Cardinal on the 15th March 1557, with the title of Alessandrino, from his birthplace Bosco near Alessandria; and he succeeded Pope Pius IV., assuming the name of Pius V.

1556.
April 4.
Original Letter Book. Venetian Archives.

148. BERNARDO NAVAGERO, Venetian Ambassador at Rome, to the CHIEFS of the COUNCIL OF TEN.

During this Passion week I have not had time to speak about the business enjoined me by your Lordships relating to the Vicar [Aurelio Vergerio] of the Bishop of Bergamo [Vettor Soranzo], except with the Cardinal of Carpi [Rodolfo Pio], in whose name moreover the citation was made, and to whom I stated what is contained in my commission, without omitting any of the reasons in your most prudent letters. He answered me, having first premised that he desires nothing more earnestly than to gratify the Signory in all things, that he had been for a very long time indisposed, as I knew, and that he therefore could not remember the details of this case, but that he would indeed tell me that here this warm office on the part of your Lordships would be interpreted to proceed from such favour as a nobleman with so many relations and friends as the Bishop of Bergamo may be supposed to have at Venice, and that he [Vettor Soranzo] having erred, as I might know, and having confessed his errors, suspecting that this vicar of his [Aurelio Vergerio] may say that he [Vettor Soranzo] has returned to his first bad opinions, in which case he would be supposed to have relapsed, therefore sought to have this office performed, but that, be this as it may, he, the Cardinal of Carpi, will omit no opportunity of letting me know his desire to oblige the most illustrious Signory. I thanked him for all his demonstrations in favour of your Serenity, assuring him that with you neither favour nor respects took effect in any matter, and least of all in this one of religion, Venice having been born Christian and acknowledging daily so many favours from the grace of God, but that what you demanded was mere justice in execution of the authority conceded to the tribunals *in partibus*, which would not fail, as they never have failed, severely to punish those who have been and shall hereafter be found culpable. The Cardinal rejoined, that I was to perform an office with the other members of the Inquisition, that he promised me scrupulously to examine the process, in which, should he find nothing of much moment, he would do everything to oblige me. After these Easter holidays I will apply in like manner to his fellow inquisitors. When I communicated the news-letters from Constantinople to Cardinal Caraffa, as in my public letter, he said he had been advised by the Nuncio that Vergerio, about whom I had been requested in his name to write to your Lordships, was now a prisoner at Venice, and that the Nuncio had been given almost certain hope that he would also be sent hither, than which neither the Pope nor he could expect or receive any greater favour.

Rome, 4th April 1556.

[*Italian.*]

April 10.
Original Letter Book. Venetian Archives

149. BERNARDO NAVAGERO, Venetian Ambassador at Rome, to the CHIEFS of the COUNCIL OF TEN.

I spoke yesterday with the Cardinals Trani [Bernardo Scoto], Motula [Scipione Rebiba], and Reumano about the affair of the Vicar of Bergamo [Aurelio Vergerio] as enjoined me, and in accord-

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ance with my statement to the Cardinal of Carpi. The Cardinal of Trani answered me that it was necessary to propose this matter in their Congregation, and that all due respect would be had for your Lordships' request, inquiring of me whether I would be satisfied if this dispute were referred to the tribunal at Venice, and on my replying affirmatively, he turned towards the other two cardinals, saying, "I know that the tribunal of the Inquisition at Venice does severe justice, and I also know that what is agreeable to the most illustrious Signory ought to be done"; which the other two having confirmed he told me besides to speak also with the others. This morning I performed the like office as earnestly as I could with Cardinal Puteo. After having assured me that he would never neglect any opportunity for gratifying and serving your Serenity, he replied that I must propose the matter in Congregation, and that he would favour it, so that as soon as they met I was to send him notice of it, as he would not fail to do his utmost. It remains for me to canvass the Cardinal San Giacomo [Santiago of Compostella, Juan Alvarez de Toledo], which I have been unable to do hitherto, as he is suffering much from gout, and transacts business with no one; as soon as possible I will communicate to his Lordship the orders received from your Excellencies, and should Congregation assemble without him, I will urge the despatch of this affair, and give advice of the result.

Rome, 10th April 1556.

[*Italian.*]

April 18. Original Letter Book. Venetian Archives.

150. BERNARDO NAVAGERO, Venetian Ambassador at Rome, to the CHIEFS of the COUNCIL OF TEN.

On the 14th instant Congregation of the Inquisition assembled in the house of Cardinal Carpi, being unable to meet as usual in the palace of Cardinal San Giacomo owing to his indisposition. There were four Cardinals present, Motula being absent, having to prepare for his Legation,* and San Giacomo from illness. I sent one of my attendants to hasten the affair of the Vicar of Bergamo [Aurelio Vergerio] as enjoined me by your Excellencies, desiring him not to depart thence until he heard the decision, and he told me that when Congregation adjourned, he spoke with Cardinal Carpi, who said to him, "Tell the ambassador that nothing has been settled, although the matter was mooted, and it will be debated at another Congregation." On the morrow, to learn farther particulars, I sent my secretary to Cardinal Trani [Bernardo Scoto], who, muttering like a person on his guard perhaps about speaking, said to him, "They spoke about the affair which the ambassador recommended to me in the name of those Lords, and had respect for his recommendation and for the reasons assigned by him to me, but an impediment of some importance was discovered, viz.: that this Vicar of Bergamo [AurelioVergerio] having been given (*dato*), by a papal brief sent hence, as a sort of keeper of the Bishop there [Victor Soranzo, Bishop of Bergamo], when once the authority of the Pontiff has interfered in this business, as he gave

* To the Emperor at Brussels

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the Vicar this charge, it seems reasonable and becoming the authority of a Pope that he should come to this city to answer the charges brought against him (*a render conto di quel che li vien opposto*), besides which, any titled individual, not only a bishop's vicar, ought to come to Rome, and does so always, according to custom; and as the matter in question has encountered this difficulty, it is postponed until another Congregation, that the other cardinals [of the Inquisition] may also be present;" adding, "I will not fail in like manner as I have not failed hitherto in doing what is possible for the gratification of those Lords; and then shrugging up his shoulders, and by his gestures, he gave but little hope of being able to obtain anything.

Rome, 18th April 1556.

[*Italian.*]

April 30. Filza Lettere sottoscritte, Mar Serenissima Signoria, Venetian Archives.

151. The DOGE and SENATE to GIOVANNI MICHIEL, Venetian Ambassador in England.

There having taken place (as known to you) the death of our late beloved noble, Francesco Bernardo, Knight,* who had divers affairs and merchandise in England, we wish you when with his brother and executor, Ser Marco Bernardo, who is there, on being requested, to render him, both with their Majesties and such other persons as requisite, all rightful favour for the recovery of what lawfully belongs to him, as we are sure you will do.

[*Italian.*]

May 2. Original Letter Book. Venetian Archives.

152. BERNARDO NAVAGERO, Venetian Ambassador a Rome, to the CHIEFS of the COUNCIL OF TEN.

I am assured that Signor Matheo Stendardo, the Pope's seneschal and nephew, has had it intimated to the kinsfolk of Signor Giulian Cesarino, that if they give him Cesarino's daughter in marriage, he will effect his release from Castle St. Angelo, and that his State shall be restored to him; and a person who knows tells me that should this release be true, the mother will give her to him, even should the Signor Giuliano dissent from it, owing to her great desire to see him out of prison.

Rome, 2nd May 1556.

[*Italian.*]

June 24. Original Letter Book. Venetian Archives.

153. BERNARDO NAVAGERO, Venetian Ambassador at Rome, to the CHIEFS of the COUNCIL OF TEN.

To save time in the execution of your commands about priest (Pre) Bortolo, the notary of the Holy Office (at Venice), knowing that Congregation of the Inquisition was to assemble today, as it does every Thursday, I sent my secretary to the Cardinals Puteo and Trani, who on hearing the affair (*la cosa*) said they would not fail

* He died at Venice of a broken heart in March 1556, from being reproached for "secretly enjoying pensions out of England." (See Foreign Calendar Mary, pp. 215, 219.) The present document proves that the Doge and Senate disbelieved the charge, concerning which Peter Vannes remarked that in Venice "*omnibus est licitum impune maledicere.*"

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me, but that I must speak to Fra Michiel [Ghislieri], he being better informed than any one else; so I sent to tell his paternity that I wished to say a word to him before he went into Congregation. He came willingly, and owing to the earnest suit preferred by me, according to your orders, he took the thing in good part, and said that he would tell his Holiness and the Inquisitors about it, and would then let me know their decision, which was, as the said Father reported to me, that the Pope and the Cardinals are ready to satisfy your Serenity, but delayed until another Congregation, awaiting letters on the subject from the Nuncio which have not yet arrived.

Besides what I write in the public letters, the Duke of Alva, through his agent, has informed all the Spanish personages that within a week they must endeavour to remove themselves from Rome. I cannot learn what is to happen, nor will I weary your Serenity with the many reports in circulation.

Rome, 24th June 1556.

[*Italian.*]

Aug. 1. Original Letter Book. Venetian Archives.

154. BERNARDO NAVAGERO, Venetian Ambassador at Rome, to the CHIEFS of the COUNCIL OF TEN.

In today's conversation* the Pope told me that he had been advised from Flanders that the Emperor and the King of England had greatly caressed your Serenity's ambassador, making him many promises, but that he replied that the Signory took much amiss that their Majesties should wage war on the Pope, which his Holiness said he thought was by the Republic's order, so he thanked your Serenity and professed himself obliged to you.

Rome, 1st August 1556.

[*Italian.*]

Aug 22. Original Letter Book. Venetian Archives.

155. BERNARDO NAVAGERO, Venetian Ambassador at Rome, to the CHIEFS of the COUNCIL OF TEN.

That student of Nola, whom your Excellencies sent hither,† was lately burned alive on Piazza Navona, exhibiting so much constancy that it surprised every one. After hearing the process, which they read to him, he said, "Pray read me the sentence," and having heard it he thanked God, and said, "This is what I have always demanded of my Lord. *Vivat Dominus meus in æternum.*"

Rome, 22nd August 1556.

[*Italian.*]

Nov. 7. Original Letter Book. Venetian Archives.

156. BERNARDO NAVAGERO, Venetian Ambassador at Rome, to the CHIEFS of the COUNCIL OF TEN.

I thank your Lordships for telling me what the Pope wrote to the most Christian King about intending to continue the war in any event, and that to maintain it he purposed giving your Serenity

* For this conversation see Venetian Calendar vi., 551–558.

† See before, motion made in the Council of Ten and Junta, 14 March 1556; and Navagero's letter to the Chiefs of the Ten, dated 19th March 1556.

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Ravenna and Cervia, and Bologna to the Duke of Ferrara. In the public letters I have said what I know about this alienation, and my belief is that the Pope's frequent proposals to me (as I have written) of Sicily, which he does not possess, to induce your Serenity to expel the Spaniards thence, will have perhaps made him offer Ravenna and Cervia, they being his as they were heretofore yours, he knowing that those two places are adapted to the Signory, nor will I fail in assiduity to give all necessary information on the subject from time to time. The fact is that here there is very great scarcity of money, without which wars cannot be waged, nor can it ever be projected to amass sufficient treasure and not find it inadequate to the need. To ascertain the secret thoughts of crowned heads is difficult, as they vary and adjust themselves to the times, but from so many public letters of mine, and from those Secretary Capella and I have written, I do not believe that any one can doubt how averse the Pope is to the agreement; so the words may be true which the ambassador in France writes were written by the Pope to the most Christian King.

Rome, 7th November 1556.

[*Italian.*]

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March 13. Original Letter Book. Venetian Archives.

157. BERNARDO NAVAGERO, Venetian Ambassador at Rome, to the CHIEFS of the COUNCIL OF TEN.

Besides what I write in the public letters about the Pope's conversation with me, when speaking about cardinals he said to me, "Magnifico Ambassador, have you any one to suggest or recommend to me?" I replied, "Holy Father, by the Signory's orders I have no one to suggest or recommend except that personage for whom, contrary to his wont, his Serenity has constantly performed so many offices, knowing him to be worthy of that grade, by reason of his doctrine, goodness, and other honourable conditions, namely, the Patriarch of Aquileia."* To this the Pope said, "The Signory has in truth evinced great affection for his person, and that most excellent Republic's testimony ought to be held in great account, but, as we told you, it is impossible to satisfy everybody."

Rome, 13th March 1557.

[*Italian.*]

March 13. Original Letter Book. Venetian Archives.

158. BERNARDO NAVAGERO, Venetian Ambassador at Rome, to the CHIEFS of the COUNCIL OF TEN.

The Commissary General† sent me word this morning as follows: "I am desirous to make my mind known to the Signory, the

* Allusion to Daniel Barbaro, Coadjutor of the Patriarch of Aquileia. (See Venetian Calendar, vol. v., Index.)

† A celebrated jurist, by name Bartolomineo Camerario, of Beneventum, who is mentioned by Pallavicino (History of the Council of Trent. iii. 350). Camerario commenced his career as an Imperialist, but in 1556, having incurred the hatred of Don Pedro de Toledo, he went to France and published at Paris a treatise *De jejunio, De praedestinatione*, &c. In 1557 he published at Rome another work entitled *De Purgatorii igne*, and Paul IV. appointed him commissary general, which post was subsequently conferred on him by the Duke of Alva, when Camerario resumed his allegiance to his native Prince. This renowned civilian died in 1564. (See his biography in the Dictionary published at Bassano in the year 1796, vol. iv., pp. 41, 42.)

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unique ornament of Italy, and the universal port of refuge, by reason of my old friendship with you; so as it may come to pass that in consequence of the negotiations now current the Pope may have need of money, and it might be mooted to pawn some city (de impegnar qualche città), *I wish you to write by this post to hear to what city the Republic would most willingly incline, so that in case the matter be discussed and that several means are proposed, I may say, Let us do this, and not that; all for the benefit of the Signory, to whom I wish all happiness and every greatness." He added that what he communicated to me was spontaneous, without any order from the Pope.*

Rome, 15th March 1557.

[*Italian.*]

March 20. Original Letter Book. Venetian Archives.

159. BERNARDO NAVAGERO, Venetian Ambassador at Rome, to the CHIEFS of the COUNCIL OF TEN.

To prevent the French from obtaining the Cardinals proposed by them, as written in the public letters, certain Imperial Cardinals adroitly gave the Pope to understand that to make them merely implied the gift of so many votes to the Cardinal of Ferrara, who would thus become the worthy successor of his Holiness, leaving it to the Pope's judgment and prudence to consider the result; which having touched the Pope to the quick, I have been assured that he said, "Never shall it be true that a simoniac succeeded me in this See," and that of these Cardinals now elected four will assuredly give their votes to Carpi in case the papal chair fall vacant, namely, Dolero and Gislerio, and Vitelli, who always consulted Carpi in all his affairs, as also the Cardinal Gadi, and perhaps Strozzi; the fifth will join them to make a Pope, the natural enemy of the Duke and Cardinal of Ferrara, by both of whom Marshal Strozzi considers himself much offended. In my conversation with the Pope yesterday, when speaking about the Duke of Ferrara, he said to me that he was a very good son but was too reserved (assai bon figliolo, ma che andava resservato), *and muttering between his teeth his Holiness said, "We will speak clearly to you, he does not choose to spend too much money."*

Rome, 20th March 1557.

[*Italian.*]

March 26. Original Letter Book. Venetian Archives.

160. BERNARDO NAVAGERO, Venetian Ambassador at Rome, to the CHIEFS of the COUNCIL OF TEN.

The Commissary and Treasurer General being today indisposed, I had an opportunity for thanking him for his goodwill, as ordered by your Lordships, who felt certain that if the occasion presented itself he would act in such a way as to have cause to congratulate himself. I assured him that if, as he had given me to understand, attention has been turned to the matter of Ravenna and Cervia, and if through his assistance any good conclusion be made the Signory will not fail to demonstrate their gratitude; warning him in conclusion that what I had said to him must be

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kept a close secret. He heard my statement much to his satisfaction, saying to me, "Rest assured, to reply first of all to your last demand, that the thing shall pass very secretly, as I also know the value of secrecy in similar matters. For the rest I must tell you that I did not proceed to any particular with the Pope, though should the war continue, I know that money cannot be found without these means. Here we have not one penny, nor the means of finding funds, and unless an effort be made at this commencement we shall lose troops, the State, and repute; so being aware of this necessity, I made that recent communication to you, and am glad it succeeded to my heart's content, for I was in fact thinking of Ravenna and Cervia, and I believe that it will certainly take place; and the gratitude anticipated by me from the most serene Signory is that they will know me to be their servant. Venice is the bulwark of Italy, and there I purpose spending the rest of my life. I will let you know what shall take place hereafter, and will induce (et vorrò) *the Pope to speak to you on the subject. If I were to follow the army as commissary, the matter would be the more easily arranged. By reason of the difficulties which must necessarily occur, I shall be compelled to go in person and declare the necessity for raising a considerable sum of money, and use my endeavours to collect it."*

Rome, 26th March 1557.

[*Italian.*]

March 27. Original Letter Book. Venetian Archives.

161. BERNARDO NAVAGERO, Venetian Ambassador at Rome, to the CHIEFS of the COUNCIL OF TEN.

The Commissary and Treasurer General has quarrelled with Cardinal Caraffa, who told him he had better servants than he was, the Treasurer replying boldly that on no terms would he serve him, but that having now been sent by the King of France to serve the Pope, he should therefore take leave of his Holiness. I understand that the Pope, on hearing of this stir, said that he intends to keep the Treasurer about his person and with great authority.

Rome, 27th March 1557.

[*Italian.*]

April 4. Original Letter Book. Venetian Archives.

162. BERNARDO NAVAGERO, Venetian Ambassador at Rome, to the CHIEFS of the COUNCIL OF TEN.

The Commissary General having sent me word that he would gladly speak to me on going out of chapel, as he had something of importance to communicate, I went under pretence of paying him a visit, as he is still at home. He told me that as money must be found the Lords of the Council debated the sale of Ravenna and Cervia, the one town apart from the other, and from the report made to him it seemed that they were inclined to give it (che inclinassero darla) *to the Duke of Ferrara for the following reason, that he is less powerful. The Commissary added, "I have chosen to let you know this, that the Signory, who are sage, may have some office performed in that quarter* (de lì) *in such form as will be well known to them, to*

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prevent the Duke from giving ear to this negotiation." After thanking him for this communication, I replied that the Roman Government is sage, and that they will make such choice as most advantageous for them, and that my firm belief was that your Serenity would not perform any office to prevent the purchase from being made by others, or to oppose the Pope's will, and that as to what I had imparted to him about your Serenity's desire, it was owing to his words and in consequence of the invitation given to me by him in a certain way, with the opinion of doing what would not be disagreeable to his Holiness." He rejoined that nothing was yet settled, and that he hoped in God to have himself soon carried to the Pope, nor would he fail to perform such earnest office as might be expected from any other servant of the Signory.

Rome, 4th April 1557.

[*Italian.*]

April 10. Original Letter Book. Venetian Archives.

163. BERNARDO NAVAGERO, Venetian Ambassador at Rome, to the CHIEFS of the COUNCIL OF TEN.

Cardinal Caraffa's French Secretary has left him, carrying off many letters of Monseigneur de Vason, the predecessor of Monseigneur de Selve, the present French Ambassador at Rome, the letters having been written to Cardinal Caraffa by Monseigneur de Vason after his return to France.

The Cardinal now suspects Monseigneur de Selve of having bribed his French Secretary to run away, which made Caraffa look askance on de Selve, to whose complaints the Cardinal replied, "I will reveal my suspicion of you." De Selve replied, that he was a man of honour (che era homo da bene). *Caraffa rejoined, "I do not know it." To this De Selve replied, "If your right reverend Lordship does not know it, my King's knowledge of the fact is sufficient." Owing to this casualty, which is, however, kept a very close secret, a report circulates of the speedy departure of de Selve. I also hear that the Cardinal Dean [de Bellai] is out of favour with the Caraffas* (questi Signori), *because he, as the Constable's dependant, exerted himself greatly to obtain the dispensation for Montmorency's marriage, about which he said that the fashion adopted by his Holiness in the Congregation, assembled for this purpose, was tyrannical, as he only allowed a few persons to speak, including the Sacristan, whom he in violent language abused because he seemed in favour of the dispensation, thus dismissing congregation. This having reached the Pope's ears through the Archbishop Vienne, who came hither lately from France, de Bellai is in great disgrace, and, under pretence of indisposition, has not shown himself for many days; and I know that when some one asked Cardinal Caraffa what ailed de Bellai, he said his brain was affected.*

Although these matters do not bear much on your Serenity's affairs, I nevertheless deemed it my duty to give advice of them to that Council, which may have some opportunity of turning them to account, and otherwise they will remain as if not written.

Rome, 10th April 1557.

[*Italian.*]

1557. April 17. Original Letter Book. Venetian Archives.

164. BERNARDO NAVAGERO, Venetian Ambassador at Rome, to the CHIEFS of the COUNCIL OF TEN.

The Commissary having sent to tell me that being very seriously ill with gout and fever he was unable to come to me, but that if I could go to him without inconvenience he would talk to me about the business known to me. I went to him this morning, when he said to me, "Lord Ambassador, I am in bed and very doleful as you see on account of the most illustrious Signory, and for your sake, because on the day before yesterday I was for three hours with the Pope to tell him freely what none of his nephews nor any one else dares tell him, viz., that he must either wage the war in earnest, which cannot be done without a large sum of money, or else remit part of his dignity (remetter della sua dignità) *and make peace as he can, for he has to do with a King Philip, who to say the truth is a great Prince having many States, and that he might create a schism, there being certain plausible reasons for his doing so." [The Commissary also told the Pope] that through other ways and means his Holiness might find a sum of money insufficient for his need and tardy, but that were he to determine to sell Ravenna and Cervia, he, the Commissary, did not see who but the Duke of Ferrara or the Venetians could make the purchase; and that perceiving the unwillingness or perhaps the inability of the King of France to spend more than he is bound to do, and as any other supply obtained by his Holiness would be both tardy and feeble, he respectfully counselled him to treat this affair with your Serenity, praying the Pope to take in good part all that proceeded from a mind most devoted and attached to him, he the Commissary preferring reproof for having spoken freely, to silence about what was required for his Holiness' interests.*

The Pope replied that nothing could be more agreeable to him than so frank and loving an office, and that were Ravenna and Cervia to pass into your Serenity's hands, your power would render their recovery for ever difficult, the Pope calling to mind what the Church had experienced when you held them in deposit. To this the Commissary said that in the articles restitution on repayment of the money would be clearly stipulated. What I remarked was, that although the Commissary always talked to me about alienation and sale, their intention nevertheless is to give these cities as security (de impegnar queste città).

He also told me that he used the following argument which seemed to him efficacious; that in this manner the Pope would not only make quite sure of your Serenity, who in reason (per ragion) *could never fail this See Apostolic, but also sow distrust between you and King Philip, a result hitherto unattainable, although attempted in various ways. The Pope replied that these remarks were worthy of much consideration; that he would ponder them, and that the Commissary was to return to him, as he would do nothing without his counsel.*

From the day of this conversation until now, the Commissary has been indisposed, and therefore told me at the commencement that for your Serenity's sake and mine he was in his present con-

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dition, and that he had also chosen to communicate everything to me.

He also told me that to raise money the Duke de Guise had proposed giving these cities to the Duke of Ferrara, but that neither Cardinal Caraffa nor any of the others dared propose it to his Holiness; that he (from his wish to serve Venice, where he would prefer being the last in rank to holding the first grade at Rome, and where he hoped to end his days) had done what he told me as above, hoping to conduct the affair according to your Serenity's wish and his own. I thanked him as becoming, adding that what he might do in this matter for your Serenity would be done for a very thankful Prince, whose gratitude would be demonstrated by facts. I also told him that should an opportunity again occur for speaking about this matter, it would seem to me not unfit to let the Pope and the Caraffas know, especially Marchese Montebello, that owing to the vicinity of the localities, he and his posterity might derive thence many favours and advantages. He replied, "This is a sage suggestion, and you have done very well to tell me of it, as I shall avail myself of it;" and taking me by the hand he said, "We will at any rate bring it to a good end, but it must be treated according to circumstances and with dignity"; telling me in conclusion that as soon as he can, he will try and discover something further, and if possible will come to give me account of it; if not, that I was either to send or go to him, as he will request me to do. He prayed me to write about this in cipher and to the Council of Ten, as the business must be conducted very secretly; and having assured him that this should be done, I prayed him in like manner that our conversations might remain a close secret, as I felt sure they would for several reasons.

In the act of departure, I said to him, "Perhaps the Duke of Ferrara sent Fiaschini for this purpose?" The Commissary replied, "No, he came to demand certain moneys, and assistance of troops," which corroborates what I wrote about his coming in the public letters.

Rome, 17th April 1557.

[*Italian.*]

April 24. Original Letter Book. Venetian Archives.

165. BERNARDO NAVAGERO, Venetian Ambassador at Rome, to the CHIEFS of the COUNCIL OF TEN.

I hear from Monsignor Dolfino, who says he had it from Marshal Strozzi, that all the necessary writings have been prepared for the privation of King Philip of the kingdom of Naples, and for its investiture in the second son of the most Christian King, according to the Pope's intention, but Cardinal Caraffa and the Duke of Paliano have hitherto stayed his Holiness, it being adverse to their own interests that the treaty of agreement should be broken, as would be inevitable in case of that privation and investiture, they telling the Pope that he can do it at any time.

On the 3rd instant I wrote in the public letters, that the Pope had demanded of the Duke de Guise that the places held by the most Christian King belonging to the Siennese should be consigned to him,

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according to the agreement. I also notified the Duke's reply, purporting that he had no orders on this subject, but that he believed the King would not fail in what he had promised, and that his Majesty having to give these places in compensation for what he might acquire in the kingdom of Naples, he might wish first of all to see what progress was made in that quarter; and that he would write to the King accordingly. The answer has now arrived in conformity with what the Duke de Guise said, with this in addition, that King Henry knew not how, at this present time, to consign their State to the Siennese, who, having been long free, still hope one day to recover that liberty without much injury to themselves (senza molto offesa loro). *The Caraffas, to remove this fresh cause also entirely from the King of France, have endeavoured with the Siennese Cardinal Mignanelli, who has great authority with these Siennese refugees, and induced them to consent to this, he working very hard to obtain favour with Cardinal Caraffa and his dependants for the Popedom, to which he aspires. They are also sending the Cardinal of Pisa [Scipione Rebiba] to France to inform King Henry that the Siennese are content to be given to the Duke of Paliano, and to ascertain the mind of the King, to whom, by this same Cardinal, they will send the Duke's son, as written by me long ago, in my public letters, that he was to be sent; and Rebiba is to tell the King that he has now in his hands all the scions of the Caraffa family, having already Marquis Montebello's son and now the only son of the Duke of Paliano, who are of more importance either than cities, fortresses, or anything else that the Caraffas could have given him. They are now consulting how to colour the mission of Rebiba under some other cause; and the intention of the Caraffa nephews is, should the King of France refuse, as they believe, to give them the places of the Siennese, to seize this occasion besides many others, such as the difficulty of the undertaking, the want of money, the calamities of the Court, and the ruin of the family, for demonstrating to the Pope that his most Christian Majesty, being solely intent on his own advantage, has no care for that of the Pope or his kinsfolk, and thus to induce him to treat an agreement with King Philip. Should the King of France in fact give them Sienna, they would arrange their affairs with him, for the greatness of their house, giving back Paliano, and the places of the Colonnas, for Sienna.*

A friend of mine also tells me that he heard from the Cardinal of Ferrara's agent here, the Provost of Ferrara, that when Fiaschini had audience of Cardinal Caraffa, instead of soothing he irritated him by saying that if they failed to do justice to his Duke he had the means to form new friendships, to effect which he was prayed and requested, and that he knew not what he could promise himself.

I do not know whether these things are facts, or that they will take place, but I am in duty bound to write to your Excellencies what I know, and from whom I have it.

Yesterday in the audience chamber the Commissary said to me, "This morning I spoke to Cardinal Caraffa about the affair that you know (del negotio che sapete), *and we settled finally that*

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nothing more can be done, and the matter must fall there (et che la cosa ha da cascar là) [*at Venice?*]. *I will conduct it with dignity, and some little time is required." I replied, "Do your Lordship act as seems fit to you; the Signory cannot but remain satisfied with your good will." I hear today that after I left the Pope the Commissary conferred with his Holiness, who became very angry with him, so that leaving him alone in the chamber the Pope withdrew in a great rage into his own apartment upstairs. The cause has not been told me, but I now see that there are already visible the fruits of the hatred borne him by Cardinal Caraffa, with whom all combatants are finally losers, and ever will be so.*

Rome, 24th April 1557.

[*Italian.*]

May 1. Original Letter Book. Venetian Archives.

166. BERNARDO NAVAGERO, Venetian Ambassador at Rome, to the CHIEFS of the COUNCIL OF TEN.

I have been given to understand that the Pope intends to elect Cardinal Caraffa as his coadjutor, and that to see whether he can do so he is having the matter studied by some of his chiefest confidants, who, to gain favour with his Holiness and the Cardinal, are expected certainly to report that he can; and moreover on this subject it has been told me in addition that Cardinal Caraffa (which is true) causes himself to be accompanied and courted by Cardinals, a fashion never hitherto practised, and that to certain poor Cardinals he has sent pecuniary assistance. Lists are also made out daily of Cardinals who are entirely his, as also of those who cannot be gained by any means, and of those whom it may be hoped to win by benefits and acts of courtesy. The importance of this project, and what a tumult it might create in the world, I leave to the very sage judgment of your Excellencies, whom it is my duty to acquaint with what comes to my notice without discussing it farther. I will merely add that I understand that a similar thought and design came heretofore into the head of Pope Paul the Third, with regard to Cardinal Farnese, but, being warned of the scandal that would necessarily arise thence, he did not continue it.

The person who told me what I wrote in my last to your Excellencies announced to me yesterday, through the same channel, that the Pope, who by the advice of his nephews would not deprive King Philip of the kingdom of Naples until he first sent to see whether Henry II. would keep his promise about the State of Sienna, being now urged by the Archbishop of Vienne and the French ministers here, has promised to make the privation, but not to give the investiture, pledging himself, when in possession of the State of Sienna, to invest the most Christian King's son with the kingdom of Naples, and to do whatever else the French please; and that his Holiness is determined to deprive King Philip not only of the kingdom of Naples, but of all royal administration, and of every other State, the bull being already drawn up, nor will its publication be long delayed. The Pope, in fact, lays little stress on proceeding to the privation, because he can always cancel it by a benediction; but the investiture cannot be repealed without great cause. His Holiness

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has always said that he would deprive those heretics and schismatics of all their realms, as written by me from time to time.

Rome, 1st May 1557.

[*Italian.*]

May 8. Original Letter Book. Venetian Archives.

167. BERNARDO NAVAGERO, Venetian Ambassador at Rome, to the CHIEFS of the COUNCIL OF TEN.

Besides what was said to my secretary by the Florentine Ambassador, as written in the public letters, he added, "I know all the designs and subterfuges (girandole) *of these Caraffas, and I have written them to the Duke; at the fitting moment we shall lay hands on this person and that one."*

To ascertain what was being treated in the secret congregation of the Inquisition alluded to in the public letters, I sent my secretary to Cardinal Carpi, from whom, although he was very reserved, my secretary nevertheless in the course of a long conversation elicited that they in fact discussed the privation of King Philip.

What I write as having been said by the Pope to the Vice Protector of the Kingdom of England was told by Cardinal Morone himself to my secretary in person.

Rome, 8th May 1557.

[*Italian.*]

May 13. Original Despatch. Venetian Archives.

168. BENEDETTO DE' BENEDETTI to the MARCHIONESS OF MONTEFERRAT.

I arrived in London where the King is last Monday, and this morning the Duke's Ambassador presented me to the Count de Feria, to whom I gave your Excellency's letter.

Count de Feria has presented me to the King, accompanied by the Ambassador, and at a very gracious audience I informed his Majesty what your Excellency requires of him. He told us that he would see the memorial, and then dispose of it. It seems to the Ambassador that the King having come from Flanders solely to attend to his private affairs, there may be some difficulty, as we shall see in two days, when he is to give us the reply.

From the Court in London, 13th May 1557.

[*Italian, signed.*]

May 15. Original Letter Book. Venetian Archives.

169. BERNARDO NAVAGERO, Venetian Ambassador at Rome, to the CHIEFS of the COUNCIL OF TEN.

The person who spoke freely to the Pope about things as they are, is Marshal Strozzi, and therefore his Holiness chose him to go with the Duke of Paliano to the camp to investigate everything, and report, as written by me in the public letters.

It was Cardinal Medici who told the Pope that he neither could nor ought to make the privation (far la privation) *of King Philip; and, in short, all that I write comes from the lips of those who negotiate matters, and are on the spot, but it is not indeed necessary*

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that what they say should all come true, as here they change their minds every moment.

Rome, 15th May 1557.

[*Italian.*]

May 22. Original Letter Book. Venetian Archives.

170. BERNARDO NAVAGERO, Venetian Ambassador at Rome, to the CHIEFS of the COUNCIL OF TEN.

The Commissary General sent to tell me this morning that when I was passing his house in my coach, he should like to take his pleasure awhile with me (venir un pezzo a solazzo meco.) *I did as he wished, and he told me that he had always discouraged the tax of one per cent., demonstrating to all of them the inconveniences to which it would give rise, viz., the length of time, the secession of some part of the Papal States; and that in the midst of so much discontent on the part of all Rome, and of the entire population, the people ought not to be exasperated farther, by giving them to understand that with their money, and at the cost of their lives, it was chosen to wage a voluntary war, the cause of which was in truth given by the Pope. When they told him that on this ground they could obtain a loan from the merchants, he replied that the scarcity of money was so great everywhere, that for the merchants' security, with the exception of Genoa, Venice, and Florence, they would not find ten thousand crowns in all the rest of Italy, should any one undertake this contract. He then continued, that having to do with a Pope of his age, he did not see what could be hoped, his consolation being, that he had freely stated his opinion, which was that of Strozzi and Cardinal Vitelli, in which two persons the Pope believed more than in argument, because he feared it would confute him. Under divers pretexts the Pope had not given the Commissary audience for several days, to the disapproval even of Cardinal Caraffa; but in the end everybody is compelled to assent to what the Pope wills* (a quel che vol il Pontefice). *When the Commissary spoke to his Holiness heretofore about the means of finding money, he seemed inclined to treat with your Serenity about Ravenna and Cervia, Cardinal Caraffa being of the same mind, they knowing that these were their sole resources* (che questi soli erano vini exigibili), *nor would more time be needed than was requisite for the stipulation of price and conditions, which however could not be less than two months. He also said, "I, who know the folly of the supplies raised here, am certain that they will be compelled to treat with you." After a few words about his good will, and what he had communicated to me, I answered him that should your Serenity be requested on fair terms, thinking to do what is agreeable to his Holiness, you will not show yourself averse to this negotiation; and that all Christians and Italians ought to pray God that neither this nor any other sort of provision may become necessary. He exclaimed, "How like a good honest man you speak," and the rest of his conversation was in praise of the Republic, the sole port of refuge for all unfortunates, and about his determination to end his days either at Venice or Padua, where*

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he had the honourable post of Lecturer, and hoped to live, not without glory to himself, and with much advantage to that University, offering in any case of the Republic's need to serve you satisfactorily [as jurist ?]; to which I said laughing, "Your Lordship's exertions in favour of the Pope and the King of France have been such that you will not choose thus to lose them all at once, but the Republic of Venice cannot do otherwise than love such a man as you are, and wish you all welfare."

Besides what I write in the public letters, Cardinal Carpi says, on good authority, that the Pope evinces goodwill towards the agreement, because he wants to obtain a suspension of hostilities, to make the necessary provisions, and then to do worse than ever, but that the Imperialists are aware of this, having had the example of the 40 days' truce; so, being prepared, they will either make peace or war speedily.

Rome, 22nd May 1557.

[*Italian.*]

June 20. Original Despatch. Mantuan Archives.

171. ANNIBALE LITOLFI to GUGLIELMO GONZAGA, DUKE OF MANTUA and Marquis of Monferrat.

London is the largest city in all England, being built on the river Thames, which here has the form of a bow, and consequently the town is shaped accordingly. At one extremity of it is a castle called the Tower, and at the other the suburb of Westminster, where the kings reside in a very large palace, most convenient with regard to apartments (*stanze*), but without much architecture, as usual in all the buildings of this country. Near the Tower there is a bridge across the river leading to the large borough of Southwark, which seems a separate town, and the bridge is so broad that there are shops on both sides, with a road in the middle, in some places covered and in others uncovered. The convenience of the Thames enables them to go along London town (*in andar lungo la terra di Londra*) in certain small long and narrow barks, which they call boats (*botti*). The tides of the ocean are felt ten miles above London in the Thames, the distance from the sea being one hundred miles.

On entering the Tower, there is a *serraglio* in which from grandeur they keep lions and tigers and cat-lions.

There is a great quantity of artillery in the Tower, and also outside, on the banks of the river. I counted them roughly, and estimated about 250 brass pieces, and 600 of iron, some of which are cast like those of brass (*et da 600 di ferro, alcuni de' quali sono di ferro fonduto, et della istessa maniera che è quella di bronzo*).

In St. Peter's Church at Westminster there is a chapel much decorated with gold and marble, called King's Chapel, and at the foot of the steps beyond the high altar of the church there are the tombs of late kings and queens, with the names and achievements (*imprese*) of many of them, but their bodies (*corpi*) are at Windsor, in a church (*chiesa*) where the chapters of the Garter are held.

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At a short distance from St. Peter's Church is a hall one hundred paces in length by twenty-seven in breadth, where the kings are crowned. Justice is also administered there, both criminal and civil, though not during the whole year, but only for fifteen or twenty days during each season of the year, viz., spring, summer, autumn, and winter; wherefore they are called the four terms, when anyone demanding justice appeals to the proper tribunal, according to the matter to be treated. Except during these terms justice is done to no one, save by the criminal court of the Exchequer, which even passes sentence extraordinarily (*anche straordinariamente*).

The dress of the judges is a long black cloth gown down to the feet, lined with vair, the sleeves being wide, and the gown has a cape; and on their heads they wear a cloth cap in the ducal fashion.

The trade of the London merchants resembles that of Antwerp, they having correspondents in several parts of the world.

Englishmen alone, but no foreigners, come to London to study law, which is not common law, nor any other sort of Latin literature, but certain particular laws, which serve them for common law. There is a literary university at Oxford, where they study common law.

Besides this, there is the bear garden in Southwark, on the banks of the Thames, where they keep big dogs to rear for breeding, and to exercise them there are bears, wolves, and bulls; so for such purposes they become very good dogs (*riescono buonissimi cani*).

This is what may be said in particular about London. At a short distance thence are pleasure palaces, such as Greenwich, Richmond, Quinton (*sic*), Hampton Court.

With regard to their fronts, the houses and windows in this country are like those in Flanders and Germany, but as for the rooms, there is no imaginable order (*non ci è un ordine al mondo*), as the English merely look to convenience.

Their building materials are very coarse, as not having good clay (*terra*) for making bricks,* they use wood mixed with mortar, earth, and straw, such as we use in the country, so that the walls are ugly (*deformi*), which is why they all use tapestries, and those who have none put canvas, on which they paint foliage. They have lately commenced building with bricks, most especially "*i milordi*," but at great cost, and it is very usual to whitewash the houses, from the abundance of chalk, of which here they have mountains.

When Englishmen meet, they shake hands in the German fashion, and the women kiss each other, as in France; but should a man meet any woman related to him, or his friend, he kisses her in the middle of the street, as he would in the house.

The men usually wear a doublet with a long cloth gown lined with fur down to the ground.

* But Hampton Court is a good specimen of English brickwork. Where did Cardinal Wolsey get his bricks in 1526? which is the date of that palace. (See Townsend, p. 454.)

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Those who wear cape and jerkin (*cappa et saglio*) used heretofore to dress in the Italian fashion, and they are now commencing that of Spain.

A gentleman without any title or jurisdiction, who at Mantua would be styled "*Messere*," is here called "*Mister*," and he who has a title is styled "*Milord*." They usually omit their Christian name, assuming their surname or that of the office held by them, as, for instance, Lord Paget takes his family name, and that of his office, "Lord Privy Seal," which is the Queen's secret seal; and Cardinal Pole has also the title of "Lord" instead of "Monsignor."

Such gentlemen (*questi tali gentilhuomini*) are accompanied by their servants, more or less according to their grades and revenues, all of them in doublets without kirtle (*cappa*) or cloak. One of these servants usually follows with a valise on his shoulder, or a cloth bag, containing the master's cloak, hat, a book, and other things; the rest of the servants all carry a little round buckler, with a sword, many of them having two, one out of the girdle and the other within it. Such swords are now of the usual length, but heretofore they were one and a half handed, and even double-handed (*ma altre volte le portavano da una mano et meza, et anche da due mani*). Those who wear a long gown instead of a Spanish cape have their sword and buckler carried by one of their servants.

The "miladis" use neither carts (*carretti*) nor coaches, but go on horseback, preceded by footmen and followed by maids of honour (*damigelle*) on foot, or they have one or two of them on horseback. These maids of honour are usually of noble birth and even related occasionally to those in whose service they are; for it is the custom in England for the eldest daughters (*sic*) and the eldest sons to inherit everything, the younger children not only having no share in the property, but waiting on their elder brothers as servants (*ma servono anche per servitori i fratelli maggiori*).

The costume of the female nobility is almost in the French fashion, but the others differ most especially in dressing their heads, which they cover, even below the ears, with linen cloth, over which they wear a coif or cap of white woollen cloth, either round or triangular, or else they wear a large hat of shaggy velvet (*o vero ci portano un cappello largo di velluto piloso*).

All these women here in general have a handsome presence, fine complexions, and great liberty of action (*et hanno gran libertà nel praticare*), as no one enquires what they do, either at home or abroad, which causes them to be slightly continent, and they would perhaps be even less chaste, if not deterred by the rigour and severity used against those who are taken upon the fact, although their craftiness has now devised a counterplot, for under pretence of going for meals here and there, they do what they like. This loose custom is common all over England, so that married women most especially, either alone or with a female companion, will accept a repast, not only from a countryman, but with a foreigner, and should the husband find her with such a one, not only does he not take it amiss, but will shake hands with him, returning thanks for the invitation given to his wife.

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I do not, however, say that this familiarity is never exempt from misconstruction, for if perchance any female is found sinning, they first of all call the neighbours, who are bound to bear witness, and also an officer of justice, who in like manner is compelled to go, even at midnight. Both of them are seized, but for the most part only the woman, whom they punish according to her quality and the circumstances of the case, in conformity with which, they either confine her in a wooden cage for a day and a night, or they place her on a cart and take her through the town; or else they put her on a wooden chair, pierced in the middle and secured to the end of a beam, placed on the water, and the beam moving up and down, they make her take a bath below the waist; or else they imprison her in a house destined for this purpose, with a short allowance of bread and water, weaving wool or doing some other work.

In this same house they place male prisoners, whose punishment it is to turn a mill all day long; which is the same sort of penalty that the ancients inflicted on their servants.

There are no public brothels (*luoghi publici di dishonestà non ci sono*).

This good may be said of the women in general, that they are of ready wit (*di bello ingegno*), as shown by their prompt replies, and many of them, above all, the nobility, are very learned in Greek and Latin.

As regards women, the English do not hold honour in account, nor even in many other matters, for neither when the lie is given them nor for other abusive words will they be induced to fight, but rather from some caprice, and after exchanging two or three stabs with a knife in the German fashion (*coltellate alla Tedesca*), even when they wound each other, they make peace instantly, and go and drink together. If two enemies meet they do not fail to salute and shake hands with each other, but should the opportunity present itself they take their revenge.

The English are naturally the enemies of all aliens, but they hate the French and Spaniards most of all; nor do I believe that it proceeds from vicinity, for they do not dislike the Flemings, though they are their neighbours. They are very friendly to the Italians, and really resemble us greatly in air and exterior appearance, except that they are taller (*più grandi di noi*), and also consider themselves handsomer than any other nation in the world, so that whenever they see a handsome foreigner they say he looks like an Englishman.

England was anciently considered so inhospitable that Horace, wishing to show that the man who had the courage to live amongst Englishmen was brave, said:

"Visam Britannos hospitibus feros."*

Many Englishmen eat five or six times a day, and more of meat than of anything else, so that more butchers are seen in London than in any two of the chief towns of Lombardy; and a certain

* Lib. III., Ode IV. ad Calliopen, verse 33.

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individual, being asked what he thought of London, replied, "It seems to me worthy of the title of the first town in the world for shambles." Another person remarked that the English eat and the Flemings drink.

With all this eating the English are long lived, which may be attributed to their mild climate, for in truth it is so good and temperate that it could not be better.

On this island there are neither bears, wolves, nor lions, nor similar wild beasts; and from what they say they have no venomous serpents.

They have great plenty of herds and flocks, most especially of sheep, which they shear only once a year; but the wool is so fine that the Spanish wools cannot be compared to it, so that English cloth is superfine, and quite perfect.

In England there is a very great quantity of wild rabbits, and their skins serve for the linings of (men's ?) gowns.

There are studs of horses, almost all of them for the saddle, but they cannot stand fatigue, having weak feet. The studs were handsomer and better than at present, before King Edward destroyed the monasteries, as the abbots and bishops attended to them more than these "*milordi*" do.

In no place is there finer tin than in England, which also abounds in everything else, viz., grain, fruit, and vegetables, except wine and oil. Heretofore they had vines, but they say that the grapes ripened ill. They have as much wine as they want from France, and very cheap; and as to beer, there is none better than that of England. In short, the whole country is beautiful and good; and in proportion to its beauty the worse are the natives; so the man who said that England was a paradise inhabited by devils did not deceive himself.

They are generally slothful (*poco industriosi*), and greatly love their ease (*commoditá*), as seen in many things, and particularly in this, that there is no male or female peasant (*villano nè villana*) who does not ride on horseback, and miserable must that man be who follows his cart on foot. Thus the rustic on horseback drives the oxen or horses of his team, and hence comes it that England is also called the land of comforts (*di qui viene che Inghilterra si chiama anche il regno delle commoditá*).

The English are said to be naturally very obstinate, and that "*ducuntur non trahuntur*," but they are also fickle, and most inconsiderate in their actions; they are extremely courageous, and the more so in proportion to the difficulty of the undertaking.

The English, as Petrarch wrote in the verse "*a cui morir non duole*," have been often seen to go to the stake and gibbet laughing, and, as it were, ridiculing such martyrdom; and many persons, members of whose families have been hanged and quartered, are accustomed to boast of it. Lately a foreigner, having asked an English captain if any one of his family had been hanged and quartered, was answered, "not that he knew of." Another Englishman whispered to the foreigner, "Don't be surprised, for he is not a gentleman."

1557.

With respect to military order, they observe it in some things, especially in quartering troops (*nello alloggiare*), but when they are in the field no sooner is the place appointed than they range themselves, so many on each side (*per quartiero*), to design the rampart (*vallo*), which they surround with waggons so well joined together that they serve for a strong wall against any assault, especially against charges of cavalry. There is a difficulty in keeping English garrisons in towns, though they very willingly encamp. The defensive arms of a foot soldier are an iron or stout canvas buckler, or one of coarse canvas stuffed with tow, wool, or cotton.

London, 20th June 1557.

[*Italian, imperfect.*]

June 24. Original Despatch. Mantuan Archives.

172. ANNIBALE LITOLFI to FRANCESCO TOSABELLA, Ducal Secretary and Warder of Mantua.

Ardinghello, who resides with this King in the name of the Farnese family, came hither post-wise, and returned to Brussels with his commission in two days, an unusal event at the Court. Nobody knows what Ardinghello is negotiating; some say that the Duke of Parma, instigated by King Philip, will not only oppose the Duke de Guise, should he have to pass through his territory, but that the Duke of Parma will especially attack the Duke of Ferrara. Others say that as the Duke of Parma would not allow the Marquis of Pescara a short time ago to give battle to Guise in the Parmesan territory, still less will he think of fighting him, and that as to Ferrara, it is not credible that he will meddle with it. I merely write the above as reported.

London, 24th June 1557.

[*Italian, signed.*]

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